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문학석사 학위논문

A Monoclausal Analysis of Spanish Split Questions

스페인어 분열의문문에 대한 단일절 분석

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Abstract

A Monoclausal Analysis of Spanish Split Questions

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This thesis aims to provide arguments for a monoclausal analysis of Spanish Split Questions (also known as ‘Split Interrogatives’), which have been analyzed as a biclausal structure under the influence of Merchant’s (2004) Fragment Answer analysis.

Constituting a part of right dislocation construction, Split Questions contain a tag, which is interpreted as a focused constituent and a potential

answer to the immediately preceding Wh-question. The answering pattern to this specific type of Wh-question is an important part of observation on the Split Questions: a polar particle as a full answer to the question posed by the tag must precede a partial answer to the Wh-question. Another descriptive aspect is that there is an intonational contour on the boundary of the Wh-part and the tag, where there is a sentence-final fall of pitch, followed by a focal accent. This corroborates the distinct questions posed in the complex structure of Split Questions.

Biclausal analyses, representative in Arregi (2010), treated the tag as a remnant of sluicing (TP-deletion) and connected to the preceding Wh-question via CP-to-CP concatenation. The connectivity effects sought for under this biclausal approach are mainly morphological (form-identity) and they are endorsed in a semantic way (e-GIVENness). He also argues that “further arguments for ellipsis comes from certain cases of *lack* of connectivity between the tag and the Wh-part (Arregi 2010:565)” and provides three non-connectivity effects in Split Questions: ‘vehicle change’ (Fiengo and May 1994), clitic doubling and N-word licensing. This thesis attempts to underscore some weakness to this approach by focusing on the connectivity of the Wh-word and the tag and deems the non-connectivity to be tangential to the derivation of Split Questions.

Some comparisons to Korean fragments and right dislocation constructions are made, drawing upon Ko (2014), who asserts that the underlying structure would not be so identical and proposes a monoclausal structure for right dislocation constructions in Korean. The parallelism of

Korean right dislocation construction and Spanish Split Questions regarding specific cases is provided to presume a monoclausal instead of biclausal structure for the latter.

To support a monoclausal view on Spanish Split Questions, I come up with an appositive coordination structure (Vries 2006, 2007) for the allegedly connected materials: Wh-argument and tag. The coordination structure bears the same level of prediction for the connectedness sought by Arregi. The appositive coordination explains the optionality of the tag, which lets us assume a uniform approach to Wh-questions.

Separate A-bar movements are posited for a proper interpretation of the surface word order of the data. There are two particular issues for different discourse heads at C (in Rizzi's 1997 sense): that the conjuncts cannot move out due to Ross's (1967) Coordinate Structure Constraint and that generally only one Focus projection is assumed, to which Wh-fronting is attributed. The solution to these non-trivial problems is a null operator movement, which quantifies over focused variables. The whole CoP (Coordination Phrase) is expected to front for the sake of quantification and the Focus operator in the complement of CoP further fronts to Spec-FocP. The phonological content of the focused material (the tag) is base-generated at Spec-FocP and the evidence to this base-generation approach is provided with Weak(est) Crossover data in Dutch. The high Focus position required for Split Question seems to function as a Discourse antecedent that van Kampen (2015) proposes for the binding of Dutch *d*- and *w*- pronouns.

One of the most intriguing movements among them is the final

remnant movement of the Wh-question. Along with syntactic motivation pursued in Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2005, 2008), I come up with a semantic one, namely [Q]-checking at Force head. Empirical data come from a typologically peculiar language, Tlingit, where Wh-fronting and Q-particle are both visible. I assume Cable's (2008) Q-movement analysis for the case of Spanish Split Question. If argued right, I believe it provides a new perspective on Wh-fronting mechanism in Wh-fronting languages like Spanish, namely, Q-fronting.

Overall, this thesis is expected to contribute to a 'finer' understanding of the Left Periphery, developed since the seminal works of Rizzi (1997). Discourse-related features are better captured by virtue of the special context of Split Questions.

Keywords: Right Dislocation Construction, Split Question,
Monoclausal analysis, Appositive coordination, Null
operator movement, Remnant movement, Q-fronting

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1. Introduction

1.1. Previous analyses of right dislocation constructions

Right dislocation constructions (RDC) have been a point of interest in generative grammar since the early 2000s. This type of construction is reported to be witnessed in various subtypes and languages. Sentences in (1) exemplify such facts:

(1) Subtypes in RDCs

a. Backgrounding

Tasman heft ze gezien, **die Maori's**.

Tasman has them seen, **those Maoris**

'Tasman saw them, **those Maoris**.'

(Dutch; Zwart 2001:78)

b. Specificational Afterthought

Ich habe heute einen Star getroffen: **DEN JOHN TRAVOLTA!**

I have today a star met **the John Travolta**

'I met a star today: **John Travolta!**'

(German; Ott & Vries 2016:643)

c. Predicative Afterthought

Ich habe heute den John Travolta getroffen, **EIN BERHÜHMTER STAR!**

I have today the John Travolta met **a famous star**

‘I met John Travolta today, **a famous star!**’

(German; Ott & Vries 2016:643)

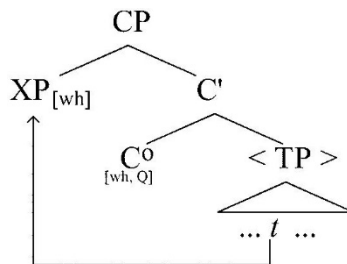
d. Arguments in postverbal position¹

___ ecey Yenghi-lul manna-ss-e **Cheli-ka**
 yesterday Y.-Acc meet-Past-Dec **C.-Nom**
 ‘**Cheli** met Yenghi yesterday.’

(Korean; Ko 2014:276)

The seminal investigation of fragment answers (FA) in Merchant (2004) provided profound insight, showing that sentential DPs (and PPs) in a given linguistic context could actually be a remnant of a full-fledged sentence that had undergone sluicing, (1). The seemingly right-dislocated syntactic object turns out to be the result of leftward A-bar movement, akin to conventional Wh-movements, and there was no need to postulate any rightward movement, which was a potential drawback under the framework of the Antisymmetry of syntax (cf. Kayne 1994).

(2) Sluicing in Wh-movement context



(Merchant 2004:665)

¹ One should note that “Korean is a well-known to be a head-final language where the matrix verb occupies the final position in canonical orderings (cf. Ko 2014:275).”

This observation led to similar explanations, specifically a biclausal analysis, for constructions such as the backgrounding, afterthought, and split question types (Ott and Vries 2016, and references therein). Ott and Vries argue that the separation of the right-dislocated material ("tag" henceforth) as another CP can be safely couched under the category of connectivity effects as guaranteed by Merchant (2004). In short, sentential (TP-) ellipsis and its subsequent licensing of the tag are realized by means of e-GIVENness² (cf. Merchant 2001), a type of semantic identification with the preceding clause. The additional information provided by the tag would be the result of focus-fronting after sluicing. With regard to split questions (SQ), (3A), Arregi's (2010) approach is representative in the literature, (4). It employs the same configuration. Here, the tag is a potential answer to the question posed by the speaker.

- (3) A: ¿Qué árbol plantó Juan, un roble?
 what tree planted Juan, an oak
 ‘What tree did Juan plant, an oak?’

B: Sí, (un roble). / No, un olmo. / #Un roble. / #Un olmo.
 ‘Yes, (an oak).’ / ‘No, an elm.’ / ‘#An oak.’ / #An elm.’

- (4)
- $$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{wh-part} \\
 \overbrace{[\text{CP}_1 \text{ wh-phrase}_i \text{ C}_{Q,\text{wh}} \dots t_i] [\text{CP}_2 \text{ tag}_j \text{ C}_Q [\text{TP} \dots t_j \dots]]} \\
 \uparrow \qquad \qquad \qquad \uparrow
 \end{array}$$

(Arregi 2010:542)

² “An expression is e-given iff there is an antecedent A which entails E and which is entailed by E, modulo \exists -type-shifting.” (Merchant 2004:672)

1.2. A monoclausal analysis to Spanish Split Questions

However, these biclausal analyses for RDCs are not definitive. The debate is ongoing as to whether the structure is biclausal or monoclausal, and it is developed sometimes by constructions (Ott and Vries 2016 for backgrounding and afterthoughts), and sometimes by language (Ko 2014, 2015 for Korean).

It is precisely this point at which this thesis seeks to provide a monoclausal approach to Spanish SQs. Aside from several pieces of evidence in Arregi (2010) that will be scrutinized in the following chapter, the fundamental difference that can be noticed between Merchant's FA and Arregi's SQ is that a FA is an actual answer or response by interlocutor, while the tag of a SQ is a continuation of the speaker in the form of proposing a potential answer. This discourse-related asymmetry cannot be trivial considering that the syntactic layer, i.e., the FocP, at which focus-fronting and ellipsis (in the sense of Merchant's 2001 E-feature) take place is said to be closely related to the pragmatic interface.

If the tag forms part of the utterance of the same speaker who poses the question, what ramifications would there be to place the tag in the same sentence as the question (=monoclausal) or in a discontinuous one (=biclausal)? This is the main question of the present thesis. In the process, an independently attested linguistic structure and operation will be employed. If the argumentations are solid enough, different discourse heads in the left periphery (cf. Rizzi 1997) would safely derive the correct word order and a proper interpretation of SQs in a single sentence.

1.3. Scope of the study

For a proper assessment of the effectiveness of the argument, I will confine my discussion to proto-typical Wh-arguments such as *qué* and *quién*, on which Arregi (2010) has mainly focused³:

- (5) a. ¿Qué árbol plantó Juan, un roble? (=3A)
 ‘What tree did Juan plant, an oak?’
- b. ¿Quién leyó el Quijote, Juan?
 Who read Don Quixote, Juan?
 ‘Who read Don Quixote, Juan?’

1.3.1. Basic observations of forms and interpretations of SQs

Split questions, sometimes referred to as “split interrogatives” (López-Cortina 2003; Fernández-Soriano 2018; among others), are composed as follows: a normal Wh-question and a following tag question. This double nature of the question tells us why this type of construction is referred to as ‘split’. Generally speaking, no other linguistic entity can intervene between these two parts of the

³ There are SQs with Wh-questions containing Wh-adjuncts such as ‘cuándo’, ‘dónde’, ‘cómo’, ‘por qué’ (when, where, how, why). Acknowledging that these Wh-words are equally valid to form a SQ, I exclude these data from analysis since I would like to focus on contexts where Wh-movement takes place. Insertion of Wh-adjuncts is known to be different from that of Wh-arguments, i.e. base-generation at SPEC-TP or SPEC-CP. Consequently, its derivation could deviate from my original proposal. Still, I believe there could be some other mechanisms available for these data. I tentatively consider that Ko’s (2015) hybrid approach could be applicable to Spanish SQs in general.

question, except for interjections such as *pues* ‘well’. In terms of intonation, the Wh-question ends with a falling intonation, and with a brisk change of contour, the attached tag is uttered with a rising tone.

The interpretation of SQs is prioritized by answering the tag question first and complementing its polarity with an open answer to the Wh-question. Following are some model responses to (4). Pragmatically infelicitous strings are attached with ‘#’ at their heads:

(6) a. Sí, (un roble). / No, un olmo.

‘Yes, (an oak).’ / ‘No, an elm.’

a’. #Un roble. / #Un olmo.

‘#An oak.’ / ‘#An elm.’

b. Sí, (Juan). / No, Pedro.

b’. #Juan. / #Pedro.

As it can be observed in the contrast between the pair (a, b) and (a’, b’), a SQ must always be answered first with a polar particle, regardless of its content. When the actual answer does not match the tag, i.e., when the answer is ‘no’, a correct one is complemented, which in turn would be an answer to the Wh-question. From this observation, it can be concluded that the tag must be interpreted preferentially to its Wh-correlate⁴.

⁴ Final remarks on the description of the interpretation of SQ are: 1) It is a complex form of question, where a Wh-question and a YES/NO-question coexist; however, 2) the relative hierarchy between the two questions is evident, namely, YES/NO > Wh.

1.3.2. Data that are out of the scope of the study

If we look back on sentences (4a) and (4b), we can observe that the Wh-words are realized according to their theta roles. When it is the theme of the verb *plantar* ‘to plant’, the Wh-word is *qué* ‘what’. On the other hand, if it is an agent of the verb, it is realized as *quién* ‘who’. From this contrast, we can deduce that the Wh-word adopts the subcategorical feature of the theta role in its original copy (or trace in terms of the government and binding framework). What is special about this subcategorical adjustment with regard to SQs is that the tag demonstrates the same correlation. In the current literature, these types of SQs are given the name “matching split questions” (MSQ). MSQs *do* pertain to the scope of our study.

In contrast, there are what are known as “non-matching split questions” (NMSQ; or “non-matching split interrogatives”) in the field, where the Wh-word is always underspecified as *qué* regardless of what its theta role is. This type of SQ is best investigated in the work of López-Cortina (2003, 2007; “L-C” henceforth) and was recently revisited by Fernández-Soriano (2018). Below are some examples from L-C (2007):

- (7) a. ¿Qué vino, Juan?
 What came Juan
 ‘Who came, Juan?’
- b. ¿Qué vino Juan, en avión?
 What came Juan, in plane
 ‘How did Juan come, in plane?’
- c. ¿Qué se lo compró, a María?
 What to him/her-CL it.CL bought to María

‘Whom did he buy it for, María?’

d. ¿Qué lo hizo, ayer / allí / muy despacio?

What DO-CL did yesterday / there / very slowly

‘When/Where/How did he do it, yesterday / there / very slowly?’

(López-Cortina 2007:254-255)

Naturally, the Wh-word cannot necessarily match the theta role of the tag, meaning that the connective relationship between the tag and the preceding clause could be fundamentally different. It is why Arregi himself excludes this type of data from his analysis in the first place (Arregi 2007, fn.2). The present study essentially follows Arregi’s choice to narrow down the scope. Only when there becomes available some configuration that allows synthesizing both constructions will I include data such as that in (6).

1.4. Summary and the order of presentation

The current study aims to analyze SQs as a subphenomenon of RDCs. In contrast to the prevailing trend in biclausal analyses of Spanish SQs and RDCs in general, I would like to investigate the strict (syntactic) connectivity between the Wh-correlate and the tag in Spanish SQs. Discourse is expected to play a key role in this process of enlightenment, which, in case of SQs, the question-answer relationship and the speaker-oriented utterance are expected to fulfill. Only MSQs are included as core data. The thesis is organized as follows:

To begin, Chapter 2 investigates the biclausal analysis of Spanish SQs, mainly advanced by Arregi (2010). Not only the shortcomings of his approach but also its insights and efficiency will be embraced by closely examining his

argumentation. The (non-) connectivity effects, that have been treated in a meticulous manner since Merchant (2004) will be a point of interest as well. In order to reject the prevailing inclination of a biclausal analysis properly, discrepancies between FA and SQ will be examined, the original argument of which comes from Korean RDCs in Ko (2014).

Chapter 3 presents my proposal, specifically a monoclausal analysis of Spanish SQs. Surprisingly, I adapt the key points of the NMSQ analysis of L-C (2007) to my data⁵ with three major modifications. First, a crucial problem of the lexical insertion of the Wh-correlate and tag is dealt with using a coordination structure of Vries (2006). Two major arguments that Merchant (2004) cites as a connectivity effect, specifically case-matching and preposition-stranding facts will be reconsidered from a crosslinguistic point of view in a comparison of English and Spanish (cf. Cable 2010). The seemingly paradoxical properties of indispensable connectivity and the presumable optionality of a tag will be treated as an instance of the appositive structure proposed in Vries (2006, 2007).

Secondly, while I agree with the motivation for focus-fronting in SQs based on abundant semantic backgrounding, I propose a null operator movement (cf. Boeckx 2003; Shim 2019) for both the Wh-correlate and tag. In fact, the entire CoP is expected to front as a sentential quantification. Insights on crossover with Dutch A-bar pronouns are provided, drawing upon Kampen (2015). It will be asserted that focus material functions as a core discourse

⁵ There might be objections of adopting the analysis of a distinct type of SQ to the one at issue. I remain unjudgemental to the validity of L-C's argument on NMSQs and the validity of my approach will be defended in an independent manner.

antecedent, which provides coreference to the crossed p(erson)-pronoun.

The last part of my proposal deals with the final operation of the derivation, specifically the remnant movement (of QP). The eccentric outcome of this operation would not only culminate with the desired string of the Spanish SQ but will also succeed in refining even more the ‘fine structure of the left periphery’ in a specific context. This explanation could provide us with an interesting insight, which I will attempt to demonstrate in comparison to Cable’s (2008, 2010) findings.

Chapter 4 concludes, with a remark on how a question is posed in advance to acquiring a desired answer. It is shown that this specific construction is in harmony with several morphological and semantic properties a Wh-question and a Focus construction would suggest. I argue that all of these aspects are somewhat underestimated from Arregi’s (2010) biclausal point of view.

2. Biclausal analysis of Spanish SQs

2.1. Semantic backgrounds: Tag interpretations

What makes SQs a special case for analysis comes indubitably from the tag. As will be revealed throughout the upcoming chapters, both biclausal and monoclausal analyses consider the interpretation and linked consequent structural configuration of the tag fundamental to explaining Spanish SQs.

Here, I will not explicate the semantic concepts used by Arregi (2007, 2010). These two articles differ in the specific conditions of focus alternatives and e-GIVENness, respectively. I remain agnostic with regard to these differences and generally agree with the interpretation of the tag as derived by his semantics. Readers are recommended to refer to Arregi's original arguments for details.

There appears to be one small but potentially crucial problem with Arregi's elliptical structure. For the tag of SQ to survive the ellipsis of TP (cf. Merchant 2004:675), which is reckoned to be presupposed by the preceding Wh-question, it must move forward to the left-peripheral position. However, as Arregi himself admits, this requires a special context, which is allegedly not fulfilled in the SQ case (Arregi 2010:546). Following Neeleman & Vermeulen (2012), I assume this special context to be a contrastive focus:

- (8) A: El haya la plantó JUAN.
 The beech it.CL planted Juan
 'JUAN planted the beech.'

B: No. El ROBLE plantó Juan.

no the oak planted Juan

‘No, Juan planted the OAK.’

(Arregi 2010:548)

It remains unclear to me whether the preceding Wh-question can feed this specific environment. If we were to follow Neeleman & Vermeulen (2012), this should entail the following ‘focus component’ and ‘alternatives component’ for the utterance (8B):

(9) Focus component: [Juan planted the OAK]

Alternatives component: $\exists F'$, F' =beech, \neg [Juan planted the F']⁶

The alternatives component above is what makes the focus-fronting seem spurious. This pre-ellipsis form would require proper justification, which appears to be ameliorated when TP-ellipsis takes place. (It should not be the case that this is an instance of repair-by-ellipsis, for this stratagem is not taken to repair LF but PF. Cf. Merchant 2004:705-715) I leave this puzzle for further research.

What is relevant to my analysis is that the gist of his tag interpretations is not against the monoclausal approach I support in this dissertation. As much as in a biclausal analysis, focus-fronting to the left periphery is equally quintessential for a monoclausal analysis, as will be argued in Chapter 3.

⁶ I refrained from applying lambda reduction for ease of exposition.

2.2. Arregi's (2010) syntactic considerations

The foremost reason why Arregi (2010) advocates the biclausal configuration as in (4) is the form-identity effects, previously supported in Merchant's (2004) FA argument. That the leftmost Wh-word and the rightmost tag share their form, e.g., case realization and preposition attachment of the DP, constitutes why 1) the Wh-word should be considered the Wh-“correlate” and 2) the tag must be considered somehow “connected” to this Wh-correlate.

In this subsection, the connected effects on the forms of the Wh-correlate and tag will be carefully explained according to Arregi's observation. Furthermore, Arregi's arguments of non-connectivity effects shall be reviewed. He claims that this non-connectedness inversely alludes to the connectivity of the Wh-correlate and tag. However, whether such non-connectivity occurs is suspect, and I attempt to seek alternatives.

2.2.1. Connectivity effects

Arregi labels Merchant's form-identity effects as “connectivity effects” and provides arguments identical to those in Merchant (2004), i.e., case-matching, and preposition-stranding. There is one additional basis regarding binding theory and the c-commanding facts on tags, but because Arregi himself concedes that the monoclausal analysis finely suits the data (Arregi 2010:563), I will not replicate them and will focus instead on the two remaining arguments.

2.2.1.1. Case-matching and c-selection

According to Arregi, case-matching serves to shed light on the elliptical structure of the source of the tag (CP2 in 4).

- (10) a. ¿Quién limpió la habitación, { tú / *a ti }?
 who cleaned the room, { you.Nom / you.Acc }
 ‘Who cleaned the room, you?’
- b. ¿A quién vio Juan en el parque, { a mí / *yo }?
 to who saw Juan in the park, { me.Acc / I.Nom }
 ‘Who did Juan see in the park, me?’
- (11) a. ¿En qué piensas, { en / *con } el perro?
 in what you.think { in / with } the dog
 ‘What are you thinking about, the dog?’
- b. ¿Con qué soñaste, { con / *en } el perro?⁷
 with what you.dreamed { with / in } the dog
 ‘What did you dream about, the dog?’

(Arregi 2010:563-564)

The fact that case realization of the tag correlates with its Wh-counterpart and that it maintains an argument structural relationship identical to that of the verb in the Wh-part corroborates the elided TP of the source of the tag according to Arregi.

By speculating on the potential structure of the Wh-correlate and the tag constituency put forth in Camacho (2002), Arregi questions whether both DPs (Wh-word and tag) could be interpreted as an instance of an object of a

⁷ Although the verb complements for *pensar* ‘think’ and *soñar* ‘dream’ are headed by prepositions, which in turn might be taken to be related to the following subsection (on preposition-stranding), the prepositions selected as their complements are lexically governed and widely understood as objects of the verb. It may be thought as Oblique Case realization and here, thus, couched under Case-matching data.

single verb. To him, either the Wh-word or tag could not be the object of the verb and consequently could not be assigned the right case, as in (10), (11).

Arregi even proposes another possibility: a coordinate structure. As will be argued in the following chapter, Arregi surprisingly guesses correctly on the most plausible monoclausal structure for SQ, and his concerns will be considered as I develop more thoroughly this coordinate structure in Chapter 3. For now, I maintain that his description of the data (10), (11) is correct and that under a certain monoclausal structure, both the Wh-correlate and the tag could be objects of a single instance of the verb (see subsection 3.2.1).

2.2.1.2. Preposition-stranding and movement of the tag

Furthermore, preposition-stranding is believed to indicate the movement of the tag. Given that the focus-fronting is equally necessary in the monoclausal approach⁸, a closer review of preposition-stranding/pied-piping data is in order. It may be that the distribution of the preposition heading the DP tag could be tangential to the movement *per se*.

Arregi considers English and Basque⁹ besides Spanish to demonstrate the movement facts. Here, only English will be compared. (12b) demonstrates the underlying structure of (12a) under Arregi's assumption.

⁸ However, under Camacho's (2002) original account for monoclausal structure, the tag is adjoined to (or base-generated at) the deepest level and no movement is posited. I disregard this approach, acknowledging the points clarified by Arregi (2010) to be valid. As it will be unfolded in Chapter 3, most (actually, all) of the A-bar movements attested by Arregi are embraced by my version of monoclausal derivation.

⁹ Basque, a clausal pied-piping language, is employed in order to demonstrate an obviation to some island constraints, which are irrelevant to the minimal contrast targeted. Cf. Arregi 2010:573-575.

(12) a. ¿Con quién hablaron los médicos, *(con) Juan?

with who talked the doctors (with) Juan

‘Who did the doctors talk with, Juan?’

b. [CP₁ Con quién [TP hablaron los médicos]]

[CP₂ *(con) Juan [TP ~~hablaron los médicos~~]]

(13) a. Who did the doctors talk with yesterday, (with) Juan?

b. With whom did the doctors talk yesterday, (with) Juan?

(Arregi 2010:572-573)

In (12), (13), it can easily be observed that Spanish is a strictly pied-piping language, provided that the tag indeed goes through focus-fronting. On the other hand, English is a language that freely strands prepositions, both in the Wh-word (13a) and tag.

Whether English prepositions should be pied-piped to the clause-initial position or stranded after the corresponding dominating verb is a marginal and superficial (PF-) effect from Arregi’s point of view, as the unseen preposition ‘with’ in the tag would have undergone a TP-deletion. Following Merchant (2004), this movement-*cum*-deletion account assures that what is not seen does not necessarily mean that it is not there.

Arregi’s perspective on how no movement analysis (which links to Camacho’s 2002 monoclausal approach) would treat this matter is as follows: “the only way to force the presence of the preposition in this structure is to somehow enforce identical subcategorization requirements on the Wh-phrase and the tag” (Arregi 2010:576). Again to our astonishment, his allegedly coordinate structure correctly predicts this condition. In such a coordinated

structure, “A Co(ordination) B” string requires that the conjuncts A and B belong to the same category in general. Therefore, contrary to what Arregi asserts, coordination rather than movement could be the definitive factor in deciding the P-stranding facts. The reason why English SQs do not require this strict parallelism on preposition attachment will be discussed in the following chapter, where details of the coordination structure are shown to support the variation of (non-) parallelism (see subsection 3.2.4.1).

2.2.2. Non-connectivity effects and semantic identification

Arregi (2010:565-570) offers three arguments with regard to non-connectivity among tags. He claims that they constitute strong evidence of connectivity that is not borne out. The non-connectivity instances sought by Arregi assume the semantic identification condition, specifically the e-GIVENness of TPs. I question whether this semantic identification condition on tags is sufficient to explain the ‘vehicle change’ data and further scrutinize the clitic doubling and NPI-licensing explanations, suspecting that the TP configuration may be tangential to the licensing conditions of the tags.

2.2.2.1. Vehicle Change

Assuming that Merchant’s (2004:683) claim on ‘vehicle change’ is valid, Arregi (2010:565-66) assumes that an elided name does not provoke a Condition C violation in relation to the c-commanding pronoun tag:

- (14) ¿Quién leyó el libro de Juan_i, él_i?
 who read the book of Juan_i he_i
 ‘Who read Juan’s_i book, him_i?’

Let us dissect this construction into relevant parts. Under the biclausal analysis, the parataxis of the Wh-question, (15a), and the source of the tag, (15b), should be as follows:

(15) a. ¿Quién leyó el libro de Juan?

who read the book of Juan

b. *Él_i leyó el libro de **Juan**_i.

he_i read the book of Juan_i

‘He_i read **Juan**’s_i book.’

As shown in (15b), it is the source of the tag that provokes a Condition C violation. However, when it is realized as an FA, (16B), the result is felicitous. Merchant (2004:683) as well as Arregi (2010:565-566) assume that the elided TP contains the pronoun *su* instead of the name *Juan*, (17).

(16) A: ¿Quién leyó el libro de Juan_i?

‘Who read the book of Juan_i?’

B: Él_i.

‘Him_i.’

(17) a. Él_i leyó **su**_i libro.

he_i read his_i book

‘He_i read his_i book.’

b. he_i read ~~his_i~~ book

It appears that this manner of replacement into the pro-form is possible under the following assumptions: 1) the discourse appropriately restricts the set

alternatives of the pronoun *su* ‘his’ and that 2) some force of altering the nominal expression is allowed between the brisk moment. The former is met in both constructions; they are both direct continuations of the noun form *Juan*. The SQ in contrast to FA that makes the second assumption implausible is related to the fact that one does not normally feel the need to paraphrase one’s own utterance (=SQ) as much as when one answers a quantified (Wh-)question from a distinct speaker (=FA).

In sum, the semantic identity requirement of Merchant (2004) that Arregi (2010) borrows could actually function as a restriction for the tag. In other words, it could be that there is not enough ‘semantic space’ for CP2 to cause a vehicle change to occur. If some other syntactic configuration, such as an “A Co B” configuration that Arregi himself imagines, guarantees the obviation of a Condition C violation, a SQ with an alleged vehicle change, (14), could become a counterexample for Arregi’s biclausal analysis.

2.2.2.2. Clitic doubling

Another non-connectivity effect reported by Arregi is a mismatch regarding clitic doubling:

- (18) ¿A quién (*lo) mató Juan, a él?
 to who (him.CL) killed Juan to him
 ‘Who did Juan kill, him?’

- (19) a. ¿A quién (*lo) mató Juan?
 b. A ÉL *(lo) mató Juan.
 to him (him.CL) killed Juan
 ‘Juan killed HIM.’

As can be observed in the contrast, (19a) and (19b), the object clitic must not appear in the context of the Wh-question and must be doubled when a strong pronoun such as ‘to him’ is used. Arregi explains that the absence of the object clitic in (18) is a case of non-connectivity, in contrast to the underlying structure of the tag, (19b).

This contrast may in fact be collateral to the discussion on connectivity effects covered thus far, as the non-match does not occur on the tag itself but on the TP configuration affected by the Wh-correlate and tag. However, what they imply in terms of definiteness does not appear to be trivial at all. Let us flip the question and focus constructions into their declarative, non-focused counterparts, assuming that the clausal type does not change the TP configuration, especially in this case, the clitic distribution. They naturally demonstrate the presupposition of the utterance when their focused parts are subduced:

- (20) a. Juan mató a alguien.¹⁰
 Juan killed to somebody
 ‘Juan killed somebody.’
- b. Juan lo mató.
 Juan him.CL killed
 ‘Juan killed him.’

If (20) shows what is presupposed in the utterances (19), the focus alternatives are at a glance very distinct. This disparity in set alternatives is captured in the

¹⁰ This conversion and the subsequent interpretation come from Zubizarreta’s (1998:1-7) assertion structure.

notion of ‘definiteness’. The person Juan killed in (20a) is unknown in the discourse at the moment the sentence is uttered¹¹. In (20b), there is a certain individual that is murdered by Juan and whose existence remains as a common ground in the discourse.

Now that we know that not only the TP configuration but also the set alternatives for the focus in each sentence are disparate, it is inevitable to question whether one can actually be e-GIVEN with the other. In this study, the answer to this question is in the negative; hence again, the semantic identity condition is not fulfilled in the case of clitic doubling and an amendment to the (syntactic) structure of SQ, (18), is required.

2.2.2.3. N-words

Arregi (2010:569-570) reports that N-word tags are admissible in Spanish SQs where the Wh-part is not negated:

- (21) ¿Qué (***no**) ha comprado Juan, nada?
 what (**not**) has bought Juan, nothing
 ‘What has Juan bought, nothing?’

(Arregi 2010:570)

Because the N-word *nada*, when generated as a verb complement, requires sentential negation, Arregi describes this contrast as an effect of non-connectivity:

¹¹ It is unknown to the speaker considering that it is convertible to a Wh-question as in (19a). This draws a line from the case where that ‘somebody’ is only unknown to the hearer. This would mean a pseudo-definiteness, which might ambiguate the difference between (20a) and (10b).

(22) Juan ***(no)** ha comprado nada.¹²

Juan (**not**) has bought nothing

‘Juan has bought nothing.’

However, Arregi also acknowledges the fact that the N-word tag is a sentential fragment. Thus, I believe it is a misnomer to label this a form of non-connectivity, as a fronted N-word does not require sentential negation, akin to SQs and FAs:

(23) Nada (***no**) ha comprado Juan.

nothing (**not**) has bought Juan

‘Juan has bought nothing.’

(24) A: ¿Qué ha comprado Juan?

‘What has Juan bought?’

B: Nada.

‘Nothing.’

The distribution of sentential negation is identical when focus-fronting occurs and is thus indeed a parallel situation of licensing N-words in FAs and SQs.

2.3. Discrepancy between the rightmost focus and FA

At this point, we evaluate this biclausal analysis at a fundamental level. Are

¹² The data and its glossary are Arregi’s. I reckon it would be more appropriate to gloss the postverbal *nada* as ‘anything’, thus an apparent word-by-word translation for (21) should be ‘Juan has not bought anything’. It seems to me that Arregi somehow wanted to amalgamate the two different uses of NPIs in Spanish. It seems misleading since these two usages imply two different sets of lexical array, which impedes the e-GIVENness required for ellipsis in the second conjunct.

RDCs and FAs actually “licensed in the same way” as Arregi (2010:539) insists? Though different in construction type and language, it appears to be possible to compare Ko’s (2014) remarks on Korean RDCs’ relatedness to FAs to the Spanish SQ context.

There are seven different proofs from Ko (2014) that suggest a discrepancy between FAs and RDCs, the latter of which is always interpreted as a focus-related construction. Two of them are related to the movement of the tag, whereas the other two are linked to the form-identity (case morphology). The remaining proofs are related to the licensing of certain items and to the interpretation of the tense. I argue that nearly every fact except for movements fits Spanish SQs¹³.

In the following subsections, I will attempt to apply Ko’s observations on Spanish SQs. The mechanism will be the same: the lax condition of identification or licensing in FAs should nonetheless require Korean RDCs¹⁴ and Spanish SQs to maintain a stricter connection to the main clause. If this argumentation renders a successful contrast, a monoclausal rather than biclausal analysis should be more appropriate for the underlying representation.

¹³ Since I postulate A-bar movement of the tag for all three analyses, namely FAs (cf. Merchant 2004), biclausal and monoclausal approaches, I consider the contrast in island constraints would not serve our interest. Although movement constructions do not provide us with useful insights regarding the FA-RDC discrepancy, I would like to mention that 1) FAs in general are less sensitive to islands than RDCs and that 2) it is the complex DP islands that are tested in Ko (2014), which is why Spanish cannot be tested the same type of data.

¹⁴ Although I introduced SQs as a subphenomenon of RDCs, in this section I separate the use of terminologies for ease of exposition.

2.3.1. Form-identity

Among two case morphology-related accounts from Ko (2014), the case drop phenomenon in FAs appears to be comparable to Spanish sluicing constructions where P-stranding seemingly takes place, as case particles in Korean and prepositions in Spanish express argumental relationships with the verb.

(25) Optional Case drop in Korean fragments

A: Yenghi-ka nwukwu-uy emma-lul mannass-tay?

Y-Nom who-Gen mother-Acc met-Q_{hearsay}

‘Whose mother did Yenghi meet?’

B: **Cheli-uy.** / **Cheli.**

C.-Gen C.

‘Cheli’s.’

(26) Obligatory Case marking in Korean RDCs

Yenghi-ka emma-lul mannass-tay **Cheli-uy.** / ***Cheli.**

Y-Nom mother-Acc met-Q_{hearsay} C.-Gen C.

‘Yenghi met Cheli’s mother.’

(Ko 2014:300)

Given that sluicing is what feeds the FA, P-stranded sluicing data should predict identically to the SQ (RDC in the case of Korean) if Arregi’s assumption is correct. As verifiable in (25-26), this prediction is not borne out.

The same composition arises in Spanish data. Sluicing, allegedly the source of the FA according to Merchant (2004), allows some P-stranding in Spanish, (27), while the same is strictly banned in Spanish SQs, (12).

(27) Sluicing without an apparent preposition in Spanish clefts

Juan ha hablado con una chica ...

Juan has talked with a girl ...

- a. pero no sé cuál es la chica con la que
but not I.know which is the girl with the that

ha hablado Juan.
has talked Juan

‘but I don’t know which is the girl with that has talked Juan.’

- b. pero no sé [_{CP} cuál [_{TP} es [_{DP} la chica
but not I.know which is the girl

[_{RC} con la que ha hablado Juan]
with the that has talked Juan

‘but I don’t know which.’

(Rodrigues et al. 2009:178)

(27b) shows that the hidden preposition under sluicing is attached to the head noun of the RC [*con la que ...*]. This is an irregular pattern of P-stranding given the P-raising in respect to relativization.

It should be noted that both FAs and clefts are arguably¹⁵ biclausal. As shown in (25-27), the case particle and preposition can be more freely omitted under a biclausal structure. In contrast, (26) and (12) demonstrate that Korean RDCs and Spanish SQs require strict case/preposition realization of

¹⁵ I appreciate my thesis committee chair Ko Hee-Jeong for pointing this out.

the corresponding post-verbal material and tag, respectively. For Korean (argument) RDCs, Ko (2015) has argued for a monoclausal structure. I speculate that this surface parallelism could extend to the same monoclausal structure in Spanish SQs.

2.3.2. NPI and Wh-phrase licensing

The licensing of these two particular items as tags of Spanish SQs is also predicted to be different by Arregi (2010:568-570) himself. However, by making a comparison to Korean RDCs, it is important to reevaluate whether or not these instances of non-connectivity serve as strong evidence for a biclausal analysis. The observations below are intended to show that FAs and RDCs (including SQs) should be treated as separate cases at this point with the data concerned therein.

2.3.2.1. NPI licensing

Ko (2014) reports an opposite polarity condition among FA and RDC for NPI licensing. The Korean FA admits NPI only when the preceding question is positive, (28b), and not vice versa, (28a). On the other hand, the Korean RDC admits NPI only when the preceding statement/question is negative, (29a)/(29b), and not vice versa, (29c).

(28) NPI licensing and FA in Korean

a. A: Nwu-ka o-ci-**ahn**-ss-ni?

Who-Nom come-CI-**Neg**-Past-Q

‘Who came?’

B: ***Amwuto**/ ***Cheli-ppakey**

anyone C.-only

‘Nobody/only Cheli.’

C: Cheli-ka

C.-Nom

‘Cheli (didn’t come).’

b. A: Cheli-ka nwukwu-lul mannass-ni? B: **Amwuto.**

C.-Nom who-Acc met-Q anyone

‘Who did Cheli meet?’ ‘Anyone.’

(29) NPI licensing and RDCs in Korean

a. Cheli-ka mek-ci-**ahn**-ass-e **amwukesto/ sayngsen-ppakey**

C.-Top eat-CI-**Neg**-Past-Dec anything fish-only

‘Cheli did not eat anything/Cheli ate only fish.’

b. Cheli-ka mek-ci-**ahn**-ass-ni? **amwukesto/ sayngsen-ppakey**

C.-Top eat-CI-**Neg**-Past-Q anything fish-only

‘Didn’t Cheli eat anything?’/‘Did Cheli eat only fish?’

c. *Cheli-ka mannass-e **amwuto.**

C.-Nom met-Dec anyone

‘Cheli met anyone.’

(Ko 2014:297-298)

The reason for this pattern is not present in Ko’s argument. Still, at a descriptive level, we can recognize that NPIs in RDCs must reside under the scope of sentential negation¹⁶, whereas NPIs in FAs must be interpreted outside this

¹⁶ If we suppose some movement out of the predicate to target the Right Periphery, a

scope.

In the Spanish case, we have already witnessed N-word licensing in a positive polarity context in subsection 2.2.2.3. Both SQs, (21), and FAs, (24), license the N-word in the absence of sentential negation. The following is my adaptation of the Korean data (28-29). When the main clause is negative, the Spanish SQ and FA *do* in fact display distinct behaviors:

(30) N-word licensing and FA in Spanish negative context

a. A: ¿Quién **no** vino?

who **not** came

‘Who didn’t come?’

B: Nadie.

nobody

(Interpreted as) ‘There is no one that didn’t come.’

b. A: ¿Qué **no** comió (él)?

what **not** ate (he)

‘What didn’t he eat?’

B: Nada.

nothing

(Interpreted as) ‘There is nothing that he didn’t eat.’

(31) N-word licensing and SQ in Spanish

a. A: ??¿Quién **no** vino, nadie?¹⁷

reconstruction is expected.

¹⁷ There seems to be a judgment issue regarding (30a). The string appears to interpret

who **not** came nobody

‘Who didn’t come, no one?’

b. A: *¿Qué **no** comió (él), nada?

what **not** ate (he) nothing

‘What didn’t he eat, nothing?’

Although there is some marginal judgment issue with the subject N-word in (30a), the overall distribution shows that N-words are felicitous as FAs, in contrast to when they are SQ tags. In particular, no Spanish N-word in an RD environment is interpreted under sentential negation. Extending the comparison to Korean data in (28), (29), the NPIs behave in an opposite manner cross-linguistically¹⁸. However, because the issue at hand is the disparity between FAs and Korean RDC/Spanish SQs, the contrast appears to be clear. The following chart summarizes the correlation. Except for a Spanish positive polarity environment, the parallelism between FAs and RDCs sought by Arregi (2010) does not materialize, posing an empirical challenge to his arguments.

the NPI tag *nadie* as a post-verbal subject, which is not an option considering the Wh-agent *quién*. I speculate that Spanish, a well-known pro-drop language, cannot easily attach a subject tag when the subject in the Wh-question is phonetically null. Me and one fellow linguist could not resist reinterpreting the string as *No vino nadie* ‘No one came’. The double question mark on judgment alludes to this spurious effect.

¹⁸ Following the semantic analysis pursued in Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria (2008), Korean NPIs receive bound focus reading while Spanish NPIs receive free focus reading. For exact locus of negation, readers are referred to Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria (2008), Sections 2 and 3.

(32) NPI (N-word) licensing under different circumstances

	Sentential Negation	+	-
		(negative polarity)	(positive polarity)
Korean NPIs	FA	X – (28a)	O – (28b) (bound focus)
	RDC	O – (29a,b) (bound focus)	X – (29c)
Spanish N-words	FA	O – (30) (free focus)	O – (24) (bound focus)
	SQ	X – (31)	O – (21) (bound focus)

2.3.2.2. Wh-phrase licensing

Ko (2014) further argues that in contrast to Wh-tags, Wh-fragments are acceptable in Korean. Although there is no deeper explication regarding this pair, the disparity between the two constructions is apparent:

(33) Wh-fragments in Korean

A: Yuni-ka ku salam-ul mannass-ni?

Y.-Nom that person-Acc met-Q

‘Did Yuni meet that person?’

B: **Nwukwu(-lul)?**

‘who-Acc’

(34) Wh-tags in Korean

*Yuni-ka mannass-ni? **nwukwu(-lul)?**

Y.-Nom met-Q who-Acc

‘Who did Yuni meet?’

(Ko 2014:303)

This contrast is also valid in Spanish. It is a reversed context with regard to SQs, where the Wh-part follows and does not precede its counterpart. However, the object clitic *lo* is unacceptable when Wh-fronting takes place.

(35) Wh-fragments in Spanish

A: ¿María lo encontró?

Maria him.CL encountered

‘Did Maria meet him?’

B: ¿**A quién?**

‘To whom?’

(36) Wh-tags in Spanish

*¿María lo encontró, **a quién?**

Maria him.CL encountered, to whom

‘Who did Maria meet?’

These facts are not alien to Arregi himself; actually, it is him who makes note of this non-connectivity fact, as previously discussed in subsection 2.2.2.2. Although the description may not differ, it does not mean that the explanation should be the same.

Arregi (2010:565) asserts that these non-connectivity effects observed

thus far here may be “very strong evidence against” a monoclausal analysis. However, it is a clear possibility that all of these discrepancies are not tolerated in regular Spanish SQs, which could be why we cannot hear sentences such as (36). After all, if connectedness of the tag to its correlate is what makes SQs comparable to FAs, the non-connectivity could not ultimately be strong evidence (cf. Lee Man-ki, p.c). The semantic identity condition upheld in Merchant (2004) may not be enough, and some much stricter condition such as a syntactic condition could be an alternative solution for Spanish SQs.

2.3.3. Tense mismatch

In Korean FAs, tense mismatch is acceptable; in RDCs, it is strictly banned:

(37) A: Cheli-ka ecey Yuni-lul manna-ss-ni?

C.-Nom yesterday Y.-Acc meet-Past-Q

‘Did Cheli meet Yuni yesterday?’

B: Ani. **Nayil**

‘No, tomorrow.’

(38) *Cheli-ka Yuni-lul manna-ss-e **nayil-(to)**

C.-Nom Y.-Acc meet-Past-Dec tomorrow-too

‘Cheli met Yuni, and tomorrow, too, (he will meet Yuni).’

(Ko 2014:301)

The same prediction is borne out in Spanish FAs and SQs:

(39) A: ¿Quedó Juan con María **ayer**?

met Juan with Maria yesterday

‘Did Juan meet with Maria yesterday?’

B: No, **mañana**.

‘No, tomorrow.’

(40) *¿Se encontró Juan con María, **mañana también**?

himself.CL met Juan with Maria, tomorrow too

‘Did Juan meet with Maria, tomorrow too?’

Although there is no Wh-fronting in the preceding clause, the tense interpretation of the tag shows a discrepancy between the two constructions. *Mañana* ‘tomorrow’ receives a contrastive focus reading, which makes it wholly qualified as a focus-fronted material. Even if we intend to expand the tense interpretation with the additory particle *también* ‘too’, it is still unacceptable as a tag. What this contrast means is that Korean RDCs and Spanish SQs require one and only one event argument for the entire construction. FAs from both languages show that this is not necessarily the case, for extralinguistic factors can allow the interlocutor to modify the event argument as long as the argument structure is preserved (Cheli meeting Yuni; Juan meeting Maria). The identification requirement on the TP level again boosts a monoclausal analysis to a biclausal one.

2.4. Chapter summary

Thus far in the field, Arregi’s (2010) biclausal approach to Spanish SQ has been taken as major support of biclausal analyses in RDCs, as characterized by Merchant’s (2004) explanations for FAs.

In this chapter, we have reviewed his arguments. First, the

connectivity effects of case-matching and P-stranding facts showed that there is indeed connectedness between the Wh-correlate and the tag. However, as imagined by Arregi himself, a coordinate structure may capture the same facts in a monoclausal structure.

Next, observations of his non-connectivity arguments were found to provide some interesting aspects of SQ. In particular, by scrutinizing vehicle change and clitic doubling facts, the parallelism between SQ and FA was questioned. The ‘vehicle change’ effect of a proper name onto a pro-form type and the presupposition of a clitic distribution were examined in terms of the discourse phenomenon. The FAs appeared to correspond to this requirement, but the SQs in general either lacked the motivation for pronominalization or differed in terms of definiteness.

Lastly, some counterarguments to this parallelism in Korean FA and RDC (Ko 2014) were reviewed along with their counterparts in Spanish. Form-identity, NPI-licensing, Wh-licensing and tense mismatch were the fruition of this comparison. In sum, FA indeed showed some fundamental differences with the preceding clause, but for RD materials such as tags, this was not the case.

It was nuanced that the connectivity confirmed in the previous subsection appeared to be deeper than expected with the tags of SQ, in contrast to FA. In the chapter that follows, this connectedness will be reviewed from a monoclausal point of view. As hinted by Arregi, coordination will be introduced as independent motivations for Spanish SQs. If it is argued well enough, it is expected to exceed the prediction of the biclausal analysis proposed by Arregi.

3. A Monoclausal Analysis: Lexical Insertion and A-bar Movements

3.1. Proposal

Why does a monoclausal structure better express the generative mechanism for MSQs than a biclausal one? Specifically, how should we argue for a proper monoclausal configuration? The following subsections contain the proposal of the current thesis.

3.1.1. Motivation for the monoclausal structure

The basic instinct for the monoclausal structure of SQs comes from the evidence in section 2.3. Different from FAs, SQs and other Right Dislocation Constructions, such as Korean RDCs (cf. Ko 2014), are utterances of a single speaker. Thus, the connectedness of the Right-dislocated material (=tag) and the correlate must be deeper than the semantic identity condition that Merchant (2004) endorses for FA connectivity. It is normally the case that strict level form-identity is maintained with these allegedly monoclausal constructions. These morphological effects predict a syntactic identity condition, which alludes to a single (not a copied) argument structure.

Copying the TP, which includes both event and argument structures, seems uneconomical in a derivational sense if we consider that the illocutionary force of a given MSQ is singularly interrogative. The presence of the tag may be optional, but when the tag is there, the answer pattern is also strictly predicted, with the polar particle preceding the open answer without exception.

3.1.2. A monoclausal configuration

Although my analysis distanced itself from NMSQs, (7), handled primarily in López-Cortina (2007), I would like to adopt L-C's NMSQ derivation for my MSQ data. Following Rizzi's (1997) split C-heads based on discourse-based features, L-C posits several A-bar movements, (41). I propose nearly the same configuration for MSQs, (42). The labels are adapted to my point of view (i.e. Ans to Foc; Conf to Co) and some additional operators quantifier-raise (QR), but the overall head hierarchy is still respected: Force > Focus > Wh.

$$[_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{WhP}} \text{qué}_i \dots]_k \text{Force}]$$

- 36 -

[_{AnsP} tag_j Ans

③ Focus-fronting

~~[_{WhP} wh argument_i Wh~~

② Wh-quantification

~~[_{TP} ... [_{ConfP} qué_i [_{Conf'} Conf tag_j]]]_k]~~

① Extended Projection

(López-Cortina 2007:308)

(42) Current proposal for MSQs

a. (Step-by-step and in bracket form)

[_{ForceP} [_{WhP} [_{DP} D [_{wh-OP}]] ...]_k [_{Force'} Force

⑤ Remnant movement

[_{FocP} tag [_{FocP} Foc-OP_j [_{Foc'} Foc

④ Tag base-generation

③ Focus-(OP)-fronting

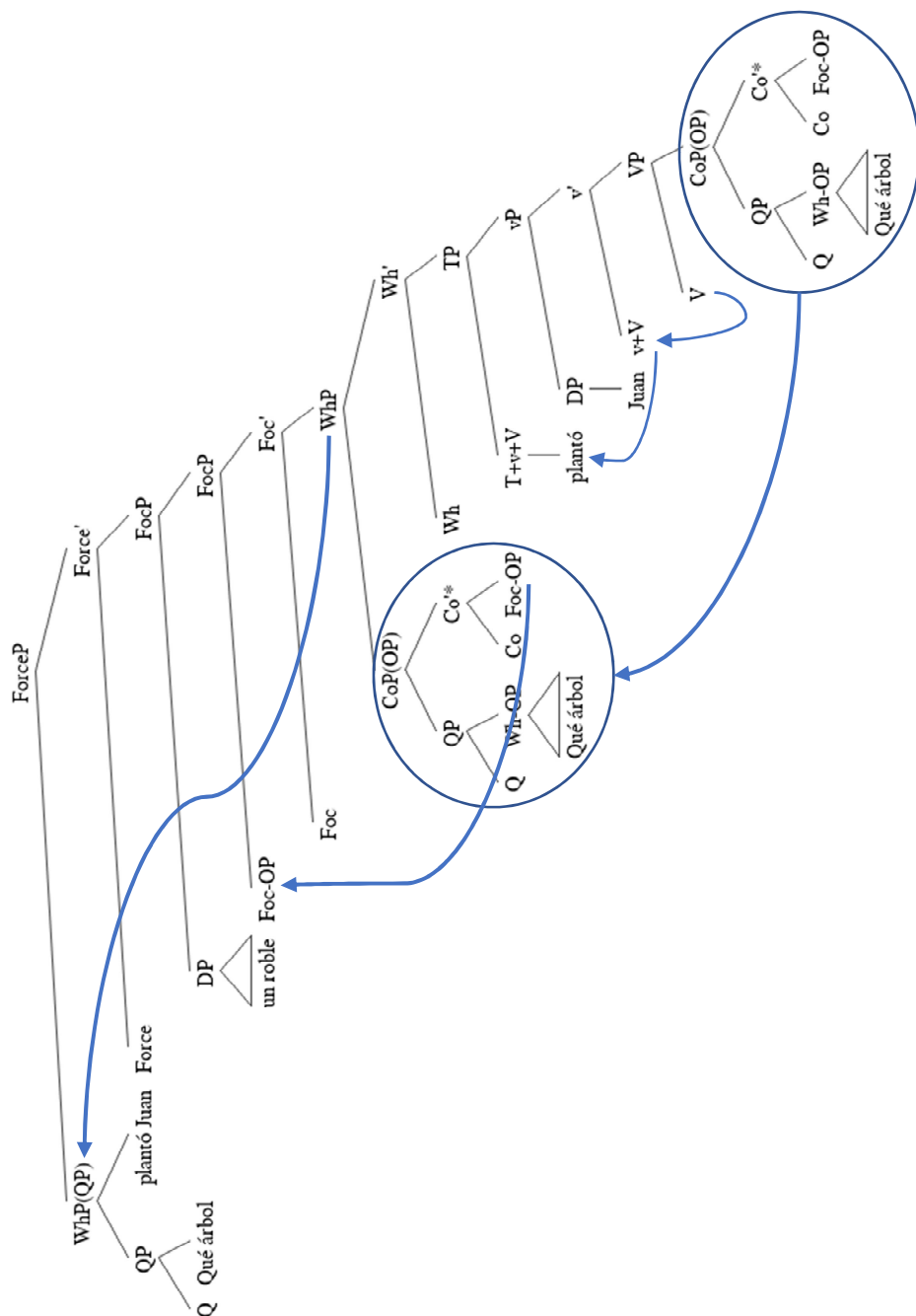
~~[_{WhP} [_{CoP} [_{DP} D [_{Wh-OP}]] [_{Co'} Co Foc-OP_j]]_i [_{Wh'} Wh~~

② (Wh-)quantification

~~[_{TP} ... [_{CoP} [_{DP} D [_{Wh-OP}]] [_{Co'} Co Foc-OP_j]]_i]_k]~~

① Extended Projection

b. (In tree form)



In the rest of the chapters, each syntactic operation will be argued step by step. Some have had their necessity hinted at in the previous chapter, such as coordination and focus-fronting, and others are to be introduced and

developed with additional evidence in the present chapter.

At first glance on (41-42), it is not difficult to notice some crucial differences. Those will be upcoming core arguments of the present chapter. The rest of the chapter will be composed of three parts: lexical insertion via appositive coordination (Sect. 3.2); quantification-related OP(erator)-fronting(s) (Sect. 3.3); and remnant movement and Q-fronting (Sect. 3.5); After elaborating the first two parts with independently-attested linguistic components, the somewhat challenging final part will be dedicated to arguments on the remnant movement of the Wh-phrase.

3.2. Coordination and apposition

López-Cortina employs a functional projection labeled ‘Conf(irmation)P’ to First-Merge the wh-word *qué* and the subsequent tag. Their question-answer-hood posited by the same speaker is captured by this Extended Projection (Grimshaw 2000).

3.2.1. Coordination structure

This Extended Projection is also necessary for MSQs. In fact, it is assumed that this functional structure must be the very starting point for a monoclausal approach for SQs. For the Wh-correlate and the tag to enter into the derivation without causing theta-related problems, they have to start out as one chunk. One possibility is a Small Clause configuration¹⁹; the other is the coordinate

¹⁹ The Small Clause configuration would be identical to Big DP analysis (Cecchetto 1999; Belletti 2005). For the moment, I disregard this approach for this approach usually strands one element of the Big DP in a A-scrambled position while the other

structure²⁰, hinted at by Arregi (2010). Here, I follow the latter and would like to adopt an X-bar schema inspired by de Vries (2006), as in (43).

(43) [CoP α [Co' Co β]]

This would translate into the following for MSQs:

A-bar moves. In my analysis, A-bar movements of both constituents to the clausal Left Periphery need to be maintained (Cf. the following subsection 3.3).

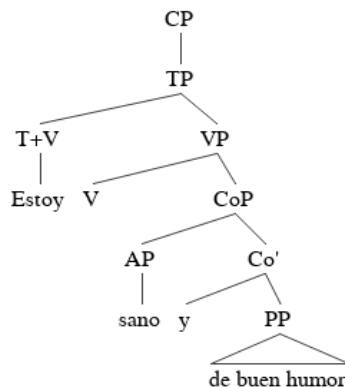
²⁰ Another evidence in favor of the coordinate structure comes from Camacho's (2002) original data of SQs, which Arregi (2010) disregarded:

- (i) ¿Qué dices, que compró eso?
 what you.say that she/he.bought that
 'What are you saying, that she/he bought that?'

(Camacho 2002:157)

The tag is realized as an embedded clause, which Camacho names *CP-doubling*. The theme of the verb *dices* is doubled as CP in place of Wh-DP *qué*. One of the general properties of Spanish coordination is that it can conjoin different categories of the same function:

- (ii) Estoy sano y de buen humor.
 I.am healthy and of good mood
 'I'm healthy and of good mood.'



The AP *sano* and the PP *de buen humor* in (ii) maintain a similar predicational relationship with the subject, which leads to a perfectly natural use of the coordination marker *y* 'and' in Spanish. Although there is no visible marker with SQs, it can be safely argued that this exact property favors the coordination analysis. (I thank my thesis examiner Shim, Sang-wan for pointing out this nature.)

(44) [CoP Wh-correlate [Co' Co tag]]

When it comes to moving out conjuncts in a coordinate structure, one cannot ignore Ross' Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC). In order to consider the Lexical Insertion of Split-Question materials as a genuine case of coordination, the structure in (42) should abide by the CSC. Exactly how this should be executed will be discussed in the subsection 3.3, where A-bar movements are treated in depth.

3.2.2. Categorical status of CoP and Extended Projection

One important characteristic of this structure is that the categorial feature of the whole phrase follows that of the Spec (α in 41, Wh-correlate in 42; cf. Koster 2000:18). Thus, the features [Det] and [Wh] of the wh-correlate will be visible for the verb and this will allow necessary syntactic movements. This is a natural consequence of the general theory of Extended Projections (cf. Grimshaw 1991, 2000) since Co head would only provide the functional features.

These functional features are by the way not features *per se*; they do not realize any Agree operation but only project. According to Grimshaw (2000), the projection's extension is halted when selected by a lexical category (e.g. DP/PP/CP selection by V). What can be inferred from this is that the coordination phrase (CoP) must be the ultimate layer of a given Extended Projection and the locus where projection meets selection, i.e. the veritable interactional point of semantics (top-down) and syntax (bottom-up).

This particular observation would be useful in explaining some asymmetric coordination in English SQs regarding prepositions ('Who did the doctors talk with yesterday, with Juan?'). This will be fully covered at the end of this subsection (Subsect. 3.2.4.1).

3.2.3. Appositive structure and Invisibility

One further reason why the First-Merge of the SQ materials should be implemented in the form of CoP is because MSQs show the following property, namely the optionality of the tag:

- (45) a. ¿Qué árbol plantó Juan(, un roble)? (=5)
 ‘What tree did Juan plant(, an oak)?’
 b. ¿Quién leyó el Quijote(, Juan)?
 ‘Who read Don Quixote(, Juan)?’

The tags *un roble* and *Juan* are not necessary to form Wh-questions in Spanish. That is to say, the Wh-part is sufficient on its own to form a legitimate question; the tag is simply added at the end of the string to ask for additional information. If we were not to come up with an alternative configuration for SQs while maintaining our monoclausal point of view, the CoP would be the best option to make those tags invisible and connected at the same time, owing to the present of the intermediate node which could connect and intervene between the conjuncts at the same time.

At least since Koster (2000), there have been attempts to embrace paratactic materials in a coordinate structure. Koster (2000) argued so for extraposition and Vries (2006) for non-restrictive (or appositive) relative clauses. The advantage of this CoP configuration is the X-bar constituency that expresses the parataxis. In other words, one can just erase the Co’ node without being concerned about its content:

- (46) $[_{CoP} \alpha \{_{Co'} \text{Co} \beta \}]$ (\doteq 43)

However, it is not a Delete operation that is in need. Conceptually, SQs are

something (=tag) added to a normal Wh-question, so the optionality should not be explained via a deleting method.

For his appositive relative clause (and appositives in general), Vries (2006, 2007) comes up with another type of Merge, namely b(ehindance)-Merge (Vries 2007:221-223). In contrast to general d(ominance)-Merge, b-Merge is employed to include paratactic material. This operation would not “grow” the syntactic tree, which needs d-Merge in order to dominate two (or more) syntactic objects. Hence, Invisibility is better expressed for (41) (or 44) and (42) as shown:

(47) $[_{CoP} \alpha [_{Co^*} Co \beta]]$

(48) $[_{CoP} Wh\text{-correlate} [_{Co^*} Co \text{tag}]]$

Vries, as well as Koster (2000), notationally marks this Invisible property by putting an asterisk(*) at the immediately ‘dominating’ node. This means the Spec (α in 45) cannot look into its sister node, thereby making it invisible.

What this application would mean for SQs is that the tag would be readily inside the argument structure while the derivation for a proper Wh-question takes place. Theoretically, it is of little burden since Vries makes the case for this b-Merge to be a general mechanism of Human Language.

Before summing up the first part of my assumption, the question of whether the paratactic material will remain invisible for the rest of the derivation is better answered in the subsequent argumentation. I believe the Invisibility condition is bound to the coordinate status of the entire CoP. Since the Co head itself is vacuous in its content, providing only a functional layer, I argue that the moment the material α in the Spec-CoP discharges its featural content (namely, its operator-hood as a Wh-OP), the paratactic material (β in 45) should become visible. For a correct derivation, the Spell-Out phase will be

the exact moment of exposure/visibility. Under a Minimalist Program, this timing should be feature-based and I will argue this point for further derivations of SQ (subsection 3.3.3).

3.2.4. Some consequences

3.2.4.1. Connectivity effects and P-stranding (revisited)

In subsection 2.2.1.2, I already exposed the direct effects of coordination on P-stranding facts of SQ. The ‘identical subcategorization requirement’, as Arregi (2010:576) presumes, turned out to be a natural result of general coordination. However, if we assume the same monoclausal configuration not only for Spanish, (49), but for English, (50), the foreground does not seem completely satisfactory.

- (49) ¿Con quién hablaron los médicos, *(con) Juan? (=12)
 with who talked the doctors (with) Juan
 ‘Who did the doctors talk with, Juan?’

- (50) a. Who did the doctors talk with yesterday, (with) Juan? (=13)
 b. With whom did the doctors talk yesterday, (with) Juan?

The two cases where this coordinate structure requirement does not seem to be met in English are illustrated in the following:

- (51) a. Who did the doctors talk with yesterday, with Juan?
 b. With whom did the doctors talk yesterday, Juan?

(51a) illustrates a P-stranded option, typical of English; (51b), with its P at the head of the string, pied-piped the preposition. Thus, I consider (51a) to be a more unique case of English P-stranding phenomenon.

A. The exceptional property of English P and its stranding

When the P ‘with’ appears adjacent to the verb ‘talk’, I postulate the P to reside outside of CoP. This would result in the following configuration:

(52) [talk [_{PP} with [_{CoP} who(m) [_{Co'}* Co (with) Juan]]]]

Since verb-adjacent ‘with’ c-commands the whole CoP, the lower ‘with’ requires some justifications: First, the Co-bar node being invisible at the moment, materials outside this invisible node would not be able to verify this redundancy until late A-bar movement (i.e. focus-fronting). This explanation could be short of crosslinguistic distribution in that the Spanish SQ tag always follows the subcategorization requirement regardless of Invisibility.

A further argument comes from Cable (2010:105-112). The exceptional property of English P regarding the stranding facts has been subsumed in the literature. For example, Cable further argues that English P is arguably a lexical category. This property would lend the optional distribution of P inside the Co-bar node.

If English P were to appertain to a lexical category, Grimshaw’s (2000) Extended Projection would moderately accord with the P-stranding facts, not only projectionally but also selectionally. This is what Cable (2010:105-112) actually explicates, based on the exceptional property of English P. For example, Abels (2003) proposes that English Ps (somehow exceptionally) are not phase head, which would lead to their strandability. This non-phasehood led Cable to argue that English P is a lexical category. (The interaction of phasehood and lexical property has been studied on the pages of Feature Inheritance, cf. Richards, M. 2007.)

Basing on these observations, the crosslinguistic distribution in (49), (50) is summarized as the following generalization of preposition-coordination

interaction, (53). The Spanish and English data in (49), (50) would be structuralized as in (54). The presumable lexical property of P functions as the core of this variation, in correspondence with the Extended Projection, CoP.

(53) a. Pied-piping L (such as Spanish/English): **Co > P**

b. P-stranding L (such as English): **P > Co**

(54) a. hablar [_{CoP} [_{PP} con los médicos] [_{Co'}* Co [_{PP} con Juan]]]

b. talk [_{PP} **with** [_{CoP} the doctors [_{Co'}* Co [_(PP) (with) [_{DP} Juan]]]]]

B. P-Stranding tag in a Non-P-stranding environment: A genuine case of the biclausal structure?

In (51b), P-pied-piping occurs, but it does not appear to be so with the tag (‘with whom ... Juan?’). The only possibility of justifying this tag formation would be a kind of ‘spill-over’ effect of a DP-heading preposition in the question-answer relationship, if we were to adhere to the coordinate structure. This means that the P ‘with’ in the Spec-CoP somehow transmits its property to the DP tag in an extra-syntactic manner.

Again, a crosslinguistic review provides a deeper insight. Rodrigues et al. (2009), following the Sluicing-COMP generalization (cf. Merchant 2001), poses the problem of a grammatical D-linked Wh-DP sluicing sentence, where the argument structure does require a preposition:

(55) a. *¿Qué chica ha hablado Juan con?

which girl has talked Juan with

‘Which girl has Juan talked with?’

b. Juan ha hablado con una chica, pero no sé cuál.

Juan has talked with a girl, but not know which

‘Juan has talked with a girl, but I don’t know which.’

This aforementioned P-stranding fact in Spanish (cf. subsection 2.3.1) was introduced as a cleft structure, (27). This structure was considered to be arguably biclausal since syntactic reformation takes place. Therefore, even in the intralinguistic context of Spanish, where the Sluicing-COMP generalization does not allow P-stranding, P-stranding options are readily available across the sentence boundary.

Then, under crosslinguistic comparison, there is no reason to exclude this P-stranding option in the P-pied-piping environment for English, (51b). The advertency regarding both data, (51b) and (55b), is that they shall both be a case of biclausal derivation. When a sentence (English) or a language (Spanish) decides to be pied-piping the P, the P-stranding in adjacent environments should manifest itself at least across the clausal boundary.

3.2.4.2. Non-connectivity effects: Vehicle Change (revisited)²¹

In subsection 2.2.2.1, I mentioned that the reasoning behind Merchant’s (2004) and Arregi’s (2010) ‘vehicle change’ and consequent licensing of the pronoun tag, (56), appeared to fail to fulfill some necessary assumptions.

(56) a. ¿Quién leyó el libro de Juan_i, él_i? (=13, 14)

‘Who read Juan’s_i book, him_i?’

²¹ As argumentized in subsections 2.2.2.2-2.2.2.3, clitic doubling and NPI licensing phenomena indeed seem like a non-connected situation in terms of e-GIVENness. This might be a non-trivial problem for biclausal analysis. However, the connectedness under monoclausal coordinate structure predicts that the TP configuration is collateral. Therefore, although the grammaticality of these special cases of non-connectivities could be downgraded, it seems like an unrelated problem for the coordination postulated here.

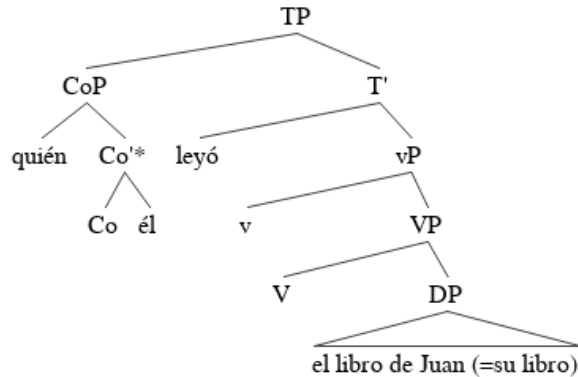
b. *Él_i leyó el libro de Juan_i?

‘*He_i read Juan’s_i book.’

It still appears that the discourse-related reason for this pronoun replacement is short of explanation. However, with my proposal for appositive coordination, the binding problem seems to be ameliorated in a derivational fashion:

- (57) a. [_{CoP} quién [_{Co*} Co él_i]] ... leyó el libro de Juan_i (su_i libro²²)
 who he.NOM read.PST the book of Juan (his book)

b. (In tree form)



The above is how the subject part should look before the relevant A-bar movements. The point here is that the illicit binder for Condition C, *él_i* ‘him_i’, remains in a domain invisible to any other sentence material including *Juan_i*. Only when it focus-fronts out of the CoP can this pronoun c-command into the

²² Without further complications, if pronominalization can occur with the object (‘Juan’s book’ to ‘his book’), it should be the same with the subject (‘Juan’ to ‘He/Him’). Thus, whatever the reason vehicle change takes place, under monoclausal approach, it could be said that there was no Condition C violation after all. The coordinate structure predicts that the Wh-correlate and the tag that are connected, not the rest of the sentence material.

Only under Merchant’s e-GIVENness assumption, the numeration of CP1 gets directly copied to CP2 and is expected to cause such problem. Since Arregi assumes the same semantic background, it becomes a thorny matter under biclausal approach.

‘book’ phrase and cause binding issues, as in (56b).

Will this issue arise at the moment of focus-fronting? Although details of such movement are yet to become apparent, it is plainly observable that there would not be a Condition C violation, due to the Wh-correlate *quién*. By the time *quién* quantifies the proposition, the relationship between the Wh-operator and the materials inside TP should be unmovable and this includes ‘Juan’s book’.

3.3. Quantification and operators

So far, the argument structure is set, and syntactic derivations, namely movements are next in line. Beside A-movements that are tangential to the crucial word order of the ‘Wh-correlate ... tag’, we are already familiar with some A-bar movements: the well-known Wh-fronting (cf. Karttunen 1977), and the focus-fronting from Arregi’s (2010) analysis.

Branching out, we confront a major obstacle towards the Left Periphery. Ross’ (1967) well-known Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) blocks us with subconstituents’ movements from the CoP, (48).

(58) The Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967:161)

In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.

Hence, the present challenge is to derive the right word order for the SQ, before deriving a plain string of Wh-fronting with this CoP schema. The key to this conundrum comes from semantic accounts on sentential quantification.

3.3.1. Move the whole CoP, but how?

López-Cortina, in his 2007 dissertation, moves the Wh-word and the focused material independently from ConfP. Although his ConfP and my CoP look alike and are likely to display similar properties, I should admit that this structure must abide by the CSC.

If the CSC were not to allow any conjuncts from moving out of the CoP, the only movable constituent should be the CoP itself. It is a natural consequence of the generalized principle of A-over-A, which was the original motivation for Ross' (1967) CSC.

But how should we move the whole phrase given the 'fine structure of the Left Periphery'? We will approach this dilemma from both Probe and Goals' point of view regarding the motivations and workings of the desired movements.

3.3.1.1. From Probes' point of view: The Focus field

L-C (2007:295) points out that due to the Topic-Focus dichotomy of the CP field developed in the 1990s (cf. Rizzi 1997), different Focus-related features were treated indiscriminately, disregarding their interpretative differences²³.

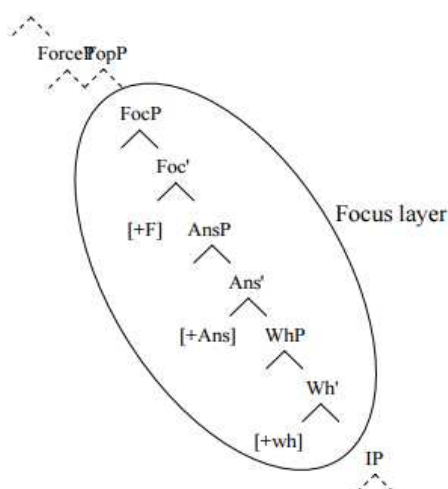
²³ However, this does not completely describe the discovered facts. According to Rizzi (2001:291), at least with embedded clauses, there can be a focalized constituent along with the Wh-element as in (i) and Rizzi presumably concludes the CP structure for embedded clauses as in (ii) (the underlined emphasis is mine):

- (i) Mi domando A GIANNI che cosa abbiamo detto (non a Piero)
'I wonder TO GIANNI what they have said (not to Piero)'
- (ii) ... Force ... Int ... Foc ... Wh ... (embedded clauses)

Although it is generally assumed that a clause cannot bear more than a single Focus, based on information structure reasons (topic-comment configurations; cf. Rizzi 1997:298), we can witness multiple licensing of foci as in (i), where the higher focus seems to be licensed by an outer layer (at least higher than Int head in ii). If this were to be true, it is conceptually conceivable that the same can be done by an extrasentential (discourse) licenser. Render it down, there is still one sentential Focus, but another discourse Focus should be available depending on context. I believe SQs

The following is what L-C explicates on different properties of Focus-related projections:

(59) The Focus field



(López-Cortina 2007:300)

(60) Three different meanings (and consequent projections) related to Focus in the Left Periphery

- a. Contrastive Focus: a preferred option among a set of alternatives (FocP)
- b. Answer²⁴: the preferred alternative in a set introduced by a preceding question (AnsP)
- c. Wh-question: uncertainty relative to a set of possible alternatives (WhP)

For current investigation, the differences between (contrastive) Focus and Answer will be ignored for the following reasons: 1) they share the 'preferredness' in a given context and 2) this is precisely the feature that matters

could meet this condition.

²⁴ Ko Hee-Jeong points this out to be Informational/Specificational Focus in É. Kiss' sense. The exact comparison with regards to the semantic interpretation of the tag must be left out for further investigation.

when a tag is employed in SQs. It is also true that not much previous literature has underscored the Answer value in contrast to Focus (cf. Merchant 2004). Simply put, FocP is sufficient to attract the tag, which is a preferred, potential answer to the question.

The Wh-question seems to demonstrate a different hue. On a conceptual level, it embodies the quantification of an indeterminate variable which is uncertain at the moment of utterance (cf. Karttunen 1977). In contrast to Focus and Answer, it lacks preferredness.

Now, having disambiguated Focus and Wh-question heads in terms of preferredness, we might reasonably ask why there has been much confusion in telling them apart. A close review on (60a) and (60c) reveals that they still share an important property: set alternatives. Both heads induce fronting in order to pick out a salient element among the set of alternatives. This is easily observable from non-elided structures of Arregi's SQ data:

(61) a. ¿[Qué árbol]_i plantó t_i Juan? (Wh-question)

‘Which tree did Juan plant?’

b. ¿[UN ROBLE]_i plantó t_i Juan? (Question with bound focus)

‘AN OAK planted Juan?’

At the trace position are the variables bound by the quantified heads of the chain. SQs make it a special case because it further requires quantification of the preferred option (Focus) among the unknown but certain trees that Juan could have planted (Wh-question). In sum, the two heads of the Focus field commonly require a quantification on the set alternatives of discourse, and the Focus head conceptually quantifies above the Wh-head.

3.3.1.2. From Goals' point of view: Operators²⁵

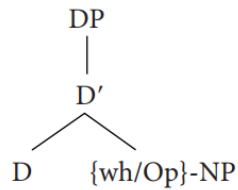
When CoP as a whole moves, what entities move besides the Co head? If the coordinate structure proposed should respect the CSC and the featural content of the CoP were to be referred to that of the Spec, I presume the moving entities to be something similar to the material in the Spec, specifically the Wh-correlate.

The critiques above allude to the motivation of the Wh-movement. When a Wh-expression fronts to the Left Periphery, we know that its quantifier-hood is what induces its fronting (cf. Karttunen 1977), and not its determiner-hood. The reason behind this line of thought is that the property of the tag should not be different. The tag, together with the Wh-correlate and the Co head, would front to the Clausal periphery because of its quantifier-hood; the tag may not be a DP *per se* when the relevant A-bar movement occurs.

To the extent of my knowledge, the identity of the tag in SQs has always been analyzed as a lexical item (cf. Camacho 2002, López-Cortina 2007, Arregi 2010). Those analyses concentrated on the surface string with the rightmost focus material (=tag). Following the original assertion from Boeckx (2003:26-28), I argue that the tag in SQ is an operator that exhibits QR along with the rest of the CoP components. Furthermore, drawing on a recent proposal in Shim (2019), the lexical (and phonetic) content of the tag should enter the derivation as an adjunct to the Focus projection.

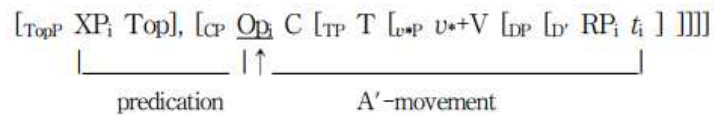
²⁵ The problem of CSC was overlooked until my presentation in CGG 29 (May 2019). I thank all the commentators at the colloquium for posing critical questions. The solution to this problem came out during a conversation with Jung Wonsuk. I am deeply grateful for his constant interest in my present investigation.

(62) D-stranding analysis via OP-fronting²⁶



(Boeckx 2003:28)

(63) External Merge of the lexical content after OP-fronting



(Shim 2019:112)

The consequence of these applications should appear as follows:

(64) Current proposal on focus-fronting

a. In bracket form

[_{FocP} **tag** [_{FocP} **Foc-OP_j** [_{Foc'} Foc] ④ Tag base-generation

③ Focus(-OP)-fronting

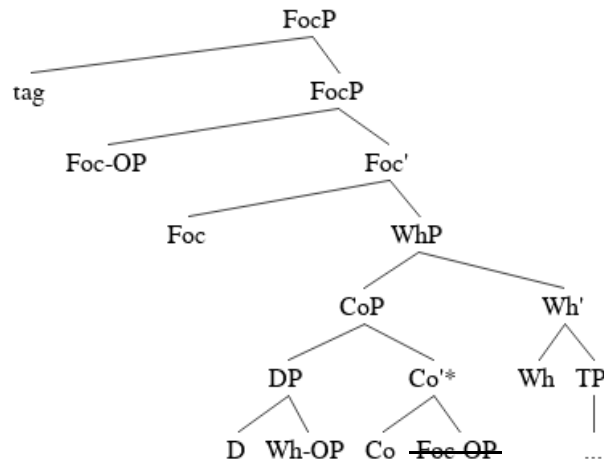
[_{WhP} [_{CoP} [_{DP} **D** [**Wh-OP**]] [_{Co'*} **Co** ~~**Foc-OP_j**~~] _i [_{Wh'} Wh ...

② (Wh-)quantification

(Partially fetched from 42)

²⁶ There is no D in the present SQ case. This D is related to Resumptive Pronoun, which is usually utilized in topicalization (CLLD) context (cf. Shim 2019). The null operator on the right branch, however, is relevant to our discussion.

b. (In tree form)



The ramifications of this approach would clarify my argument: First, the motivation of CoP movement is quantification. Even though we say that an Extended Projection dislocates, the entire phrase climbs up the derivation up to TP to bind over the variables of the construction. This is supported by the semantics of the operators. From the Focus field asserted by López-Cortina, (59, 60), both Wh- and Focus heads attract their relevant operators to opt for a choice out of a set (cf. subsection 3.3.1.1). Although the Co-bar node remains invisible at the moment of QR, inside that invisible node, the Foc-OP should be mimicking the same mechanism, i.e. quantification, over the presumably same set.

Secondly, this approach to SQ with operators is novel and conventional at the same time. To be specific, the proposal in (64) would integrate the topicalization facts and also become a modification of once-widespread Big DP analysis (cf. Cecchetto 1999, Belletti 2005). As many have noticed, both Boeckx (2003) and Shim (2019) turn their attention to the Resumptive Pronoun (RP). RPs are mainly employed for CLLD and relativization constructions in Spanish. It is the singularity of focalization construction that eliminates the need to employ RP, but still the kinship of

focalization to topicalization and relativization is observed in its abundance in the literature.

Finally, the once-widespread Big DP analysis (cf. Cecchetto 1999, Belletti 2005) is embraced with some modification. The basic insight of Big DP is to introduce seemingly related materials in one constituent and to later separate them in Narrow Syntax. All the connectivity effects observed in Chapter 2 should be generally the consequence of the same insight. Here, although the RP is not what is combined with the tag, attaching the tag to the Wh-correlate was a possibility first demonstrated in Camacho (2002:163), as a Small Clause configuration.

Moving forward, upcoming subsections will scrutinize the present argument with some empirical data. Crossover phenomena are expected to shed light not only on the movement of the tag, but also on its operator-hood.

3.3.2. A-bar pronouns and discourse antecedents

The study on Focus operators and its licensing mechanism seems to be less investigated in comparison to Topic and Wh- operators. This may be due to the morphological distribution of related markers: Topic and Wh-operators are easy to find, while Focus counterparts are not, frequently being phonetically null.

In this sense, van Kampen's (2015) observations on Dutch crossover data provide intriguing perspectives with regard to SQs. The morphological paradigm of Dutch A-bar pronouns demonstrates a uniform category: *wie/wat/waar* 'who/what/where' for question *w*-pronouns and *die/dat/daar* 'that/that/there' for topic *d*-pronouns. Besides this morphological affinity, they

exhibit an interesting contrast when it comes to Weak Crossover (WCO)²⁷:

- (65) ... Johanna_{i=j}. Die_i dacht [haar_j zus]_k dat wij t_{d-i} zouden uitnodigen.
 ... Johanna. D_{pro} thought [her sister] that we t would invite
 ‘... Johanna_{i=j}. Her_j sister thought that we would invite her_i.’

(Kampen 2015:101)

When the p(erson)-pronoun *haar* (indexed with *j*) is a subconstituent (of ‘her sister’, indexed with *k*), it is known to cause a WCO effect. However, in (65), a case known as Weakest Crossover (cf. Lasnik & Stowell 1991), the ungrammaticality is minimal. According to van Kampen, the p-pronoun would become indexed from the discourse antecedent *Johanna* (index *j*). It is another index *i* that the *d*-pronoun *die* also coindexes with *Johanna* and thus the equation *i=j* is borne out.

The discourse antecedent is sought outside the CP boundary. It is assumed that for topics, the antecedent lies in the preceding discourse; for Wh-questions, it lies in the following discourse. Now let us look at (66), a Wh-question. Since the pragmatics provide adequate antecedents, presupposition would play an important role:

- (66) Wie_i dacht [haar_{?j} zus]_k dat wij t_{w-i} zouden uitnodigen? (Johanna_{i=j})
 W_{pro} thought [her sister] that we t would invite

²⁷ Strong Crossovers (SCO) are naturally crossed out by the Independence Principle (cf. Safir 2004:3; Kampen 2015:91):

- (i) Independence Principle
 If *x* depends on *y*, then *x* cannot c-command *y*.

In SCO, the pronoun c-commands its coreferential variable. It then cannot depend on the variable as a logical consequence of antithesis. This would result in a Condition B violation.

‘Who_i did her_{?j} sister think that we would invite?’ (Johanna_{i=j})

(Kampen 2015:102)

The presupposed answer *Johanna* is not (yet) available, thus no syntactic nor discourse antecedent is available for the p-pronoun. This is a WCO situation. However, a strong presupposition would weaken this ungrammaticality (of pronoun uninterpretability). This is proven when the Wh-phrase is more specific and D-linked. (Ameliorated grammaticality is marked with ‘?’ in place of ‘??’.)

- (67) [Welk meisje]_i dachten [haar_{?j} vriendinnen]_k dat wij t_i uitnodigden?
[which girl] thought [her_{?j} friends] that we t invited (Johanna_{i=j})
‘Which girl_i did her_{?j} friends think that we would invite?’

(Kampen 2015:102)

The D-linked Wh-expression ‘which girl’ by nature presupposes a specific person in the common knowledge of speaker and listener (=discourse).

Roughly the same effect is expected in Spanish. (The translation should be the same as 65-67 and some clitic-raising issues should be ignored for the present purpose.) I do not provide the exact grammaticalities of (68), but to me there seems no reason to deviate from the above analysis.

- (68) a. (Juana_{i=j}) Pensó [su_j hermana]_k que la_i invitaríamos.
b. ¿A quién_i pensó [su_j hermana]_k que invitaríamos? (Juana_{i=j})
c. ¿A [cuál chica]_i pensaron [sus_j amigos]_k que invitaríamos? (Juana_{i=j})

The eye-opener of Kampen’s argumentation is the presupposed aspect of Wh-

Then, the actual antecedent –specifically, the tag– should be inserted as an adjunct to FocP. The exact relationship it formulates with its operator is not yet known, but the predication relationship, (63), which Shim (2019) proposes should suffice for now.

(70) $[\text{FocP tag } [\text{FocP Foc-OP}_j [\text{Foc}' \text{ Foc} \quad \text{Tag base-generation (adjunction)}]$

One detail must be ensured before recapitulating this chapter. Under the Probe-Goal system, the Goal should anyhow remain accessible (in terms of feature uninterpretability or paratactic visibility) to the Probe in order for any syntactic operation to occur. The Foc-OP fronting in (69) should not be possible if the Co-bar node remains invisible due to *b*-merge. Moreover, the CSC should never be neglected.

For the moment, I must stipulate the following: that those constraints on coordination and apposition (section 3.2) would dissolve when the Spec-CoP discharges its relevant features. The operator-hood of CoP dissolves the moment Wh-quantification takes place. It would no longer possess uninterpretable [OP], which was what bonded the conjuncts and led to a joint dislocation. The conjoining force would eventually weaken. In addition, the Goal that moves is an abstract entity with no phonetic feature, which is obviable from the CSC (cf. Jung Wonsuk p.c). Put together, these phenomena may be referred to as the Specifier Condition on Coordination: the A-over-A constraint would apply or be lifted when relevant features of the specifier are in and no longer in effect.

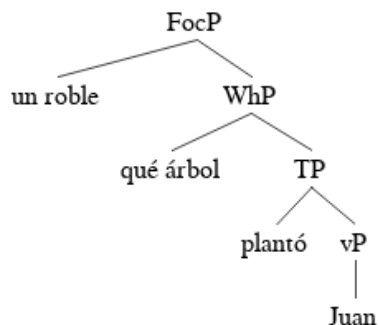
3.4. Interim Summary

So far, we have walked through the derivation of coordination and

quantification in Spanish SQs. The erstwhile word order is as follows:

- (71) *Un roble, qué árbol plantó Juan
 an oak, which tree planted Juan

- (72) (Simplified tree expression)



This is of course ungrammatical in both production- and comprehension-wise; no one would understand it as a SQ, but something short of it. Due to Focus-fronting and Wh-quantification and subsequent inversion effect, it almost looks like a SQ or an inclusive version of FA. This entails that, though ungrammatical, the string in (66) is satisfied with interpretive split-C heads in the recognized hierarchy: Focus > Wh. This is reassured by the answering pattern:

- (72) (Answering the question *¿Qué árbol plantó Juan, un roble?*)

a. Sí, (un roble). / No, un olmo. (=6)

‘Yes, (an oak).’ / ‘No, an elm.’

b. #Un roble. / #Un olmo.

‘#An oak.’ / ‘#An elm.’

The polar particle, which is a response to Focus part of the question, must precede the supplementary answer to the Wh-part. The reverse ordering of answers (“Un olmo, no.”) is never a felicitous answer to SQs. This implies that

the Focus head is preferably visible in the discourse than the Wh-head.

For this to be form the correct word order, the Wh-question has to precede the tag (as this is what RDC should be by definition). Also, (66) is ambiguous because it seems like a question (i.e. SQ) or an (fragment) answer. Hence, the illocutionary force should be appropriately provided. At this conjuncture, a final movement operation, namely remnant movement of the Wh-part, will solve both PF- and LF- sides of the problem.

3.5. Remnant movement in Spanish SQs

Remnant movement is not an operation commonly embraced in the Left Periphery, for it reverses the so-far derived word order on the whole. Considering the meticulous head orderings attested since Rizzi's (1997) 'fine structure', it may seem too radical. However, there have been remnant movement approaches in the literature, especially in Romance, with rightmost Focus contexts (cf. Ortega-Santos 2016, Ch. 3, and references therein). SQs as a sub-phenomenon of RDCs can readily make use of this line of research.

In this section, the exact motivation of this burdensome fronting will be scrutinized. Again, this will be done so by looking from both Probe's and Goal's perspective as we did with Focus-fronting. Most of the literature focused on the former's approach and this will first be reviewed (Subsect. 3.5.1). Then, the structure of Wh-phrase is redeemed as a Q(uestion)-phrase and its independent need is further argued (cf. subsection 3.5.2).

3.5.1. Previous research on remnant movements

The burden of attracting a heavy constituent such as the whole WhP to a Spec

in CP can be overcome by justifying the indispensability of the position which is immediately selected by the targeted Head. That is, if the FOC layer in (68) has to be assumed under a construction that also requires the focused constituent on the rightmost of the string (i.e. RDC), a remnant movement of the complement of FocP to Spec-ForceP or Spec-Top1P is nothing but a Last Resort.

(73) C system according the Rizzi (1997, 2001)

FORCE (TOP1*) FOC (TOP2*) FIN

(Rizzi 2001:288)

This is the case of contrastive focus constructions, mainly argued in Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria (2005, 2008; “E-UE” henceforth). The seemingly rightmost Focus needs to target the CP-peripheral high Focus position in contrast to vP-peripheral low Focus position (cf. Big DP analyses from Cecchetto 1999; Belletti 2005).

(74) Rightmost Focus and remnant movement (following E-UE 2005, 2008)

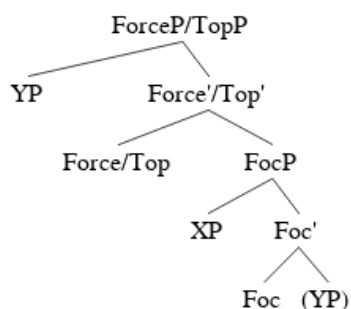
a. (Spec of) FORCE / TOP FOC

Step 1. Focus-fronting

Focused XP ...

Step 2. Remnant movement **[Complement of FocP]_i Focused XP t_i**

b. (Tree expression)



The following rightmost focus constructions with minimal pair expressed in tag form show the scopal effects which can only be explained with high Focus position:

- (75) a. **No** ha comprado el pan **Pedro**, sino María.
 not has bought the bread Pedro but Maria
 ‘It is not Pedro who bought the bread, but María.’
- b. **No** ha comprado el pan **Pedro**, y no María.
 not has bought the bread Pedro and not Maria
 ‘It is Pedro who didn’t buy the bread, not María.’

(E-UE 2008:293)

In (75a), the subject *Pedro* is indeed negated by sentential negation *no*. This is verified by the following *but*-type tag which expresses positive contrastive value. Thus, the rightmost subject should be reckoned to take a position c-commanded by the negation marker. In contrast, the same subject in (75b) resides outside the same scope of negation, as proved by the *not*-type tag *y no María*. This non-negated rightmost (contrastive) focus subject is the direct evidence of the “Focused XP” in (74). Then, the preceding sentential constituent would have remnant-moved to a higher Spec position in CP. E-UE asserts it to a Spec-TopP. I reckon Spec-ForceP to be equally, if not better, available for such “chunky” movement.

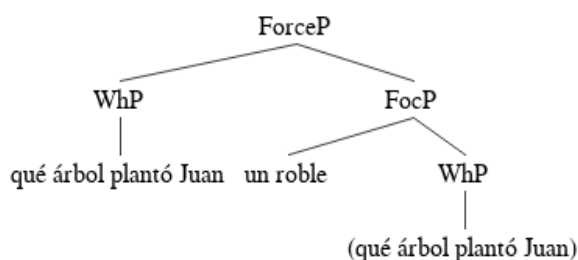
As a result, determining whether the rightmost Focus is indeed a CP-peripheral FOC position will lead us to a consequent remnant movement operation as a Last Resort. Fortunately, SQ is a favoring environment for such Focus-fronting, since it has been known to compete for FOC position along with the Wh-correlate. With the Focus field attested in Subsect. 3.3.1.1 in mind, the present derivation recapitulated above, (66), is a well-set configuration for

remnant movement:

(76) a. [_{FocP} Un roble [_{Foc'} Foc [_{WhP} qué árbol plantó Juan]]] (=71)

an oak which tree planted Juan

b. (upcoming remnant movement in tree form)



3.5.2. Q-fronting (Cable 2008, 2010)

What we have concluded from reviewing E-UE's arguments was that some C head above (high) FOC head must attract the complement of FocP. In E-UE's case, it was an (relatively) adjacent TOP head. For SQs, I consider it to be FORCE head, because it is apparently a question that we must formulate.

Under Probe-Goal system (Chomsky 2001), the primary force of syntactic operations are the unvalued, uninterpretable feature in the Probe that derives an Agree/Attract operation. However, there must also be a matching unvalued, interpretable feature of the Goal in order to make this operation complete. This should be no exception for WhP-remnant movement in SQs. Moreover, this logical reasoning will successfully eliminate the other possibility raised in the Lexical Insertion phase, namely the Small Clause/Big DP configuration (cf. Sect. 3.2.1), by not stranding the Focus material *in situ* and by bringing the Wh-phrase to the head of the SQ string.

The desired valued feature in present case is [Q], a feature that gets checked when a sentence is parsed as an interrogative. Normally with Wh-

fronting languages, [Q] coincides with [Wh], so that Focus/Wh-fronting would satisfy this Agree mechanism by virtue of head-coalescing FORCE with FOC. Unfortunate to our instance, [Q] remains at Wh-head and its Agree is blocked by further FOC head activation (cf. Relativized Minimality). Therefore [Q] would be still unvalued at the derivational moment of (76). The situation of not valuing [Q] despite Focus-fronting is peculiar to SQ. Hence a closer look at the exact identity of [Q] shall be the next to come.

3.5.2.1. Q-particle in a Wh-fronting language, Tlingit (Cable 2008)

Typologically, Wh-fronting languages such as English and Spanish do not have an overt Q-particle. In contrast, Wh-in-situ languages such as Japanese and Sinhala are normally equipped with a pronounced Q-particle. However, Cable (2008) investigates a Wh-fronting language with an overt Q-particle, namely Tlingit.²⁹ This peculiar nature of Wh/Q phrase allows a close look at the intimate relation of these two particles in regard to question formation.

The following examples of Tlingit Wh-questions, (77), summarize the essential properties of Wh-fronting mechanism, (78). Each property in (78) matches its alphabet ordering in respect to the ones in (77). Ungrammatical minimal pairs follow its grammatical counterpart, marked with an apostrophe (').

(77) Wh-questions in Tlingit

a. **Waa sá** sh tudinookw i éesh?

how Q he.feels your father

²⁹ Tlingit is a native language in the Pacific Northwest Coast of North America. The Tlingit tribe mainly resides in the Alexander Archipelago, which is the southeast of Alaska (US) and a portion of British Columbia (Canada).

a'. *Sh tudinookw	i éesh	waa sá?
he.feels	your father	how Q

b'. *I éesh	al'óon	daa sáwé?
your father	he.hunts.it	what Q.foc-part

c'. *I tuwáa sigóo [**daa** **sá** yéi isanei'yí] ?
 your spirit it.is.glad what Q you.do.it

d'. * [**Aadóo** jeet] wé sakwnéin **sá** aawatee?
who hand.to that bread **Q** he.brought.it

e'. * [[**Waa** **sá** yateeyí_{CP}] sháx'sáani_{NP}] ash kudlénxa?
how Q they.are.REL girls they.are.tempting.him

- 67 -

how they.are.REL Q girls

they.are.tempting.him

f. **Daa** *sá* iyatéén?

what Q you.can.see.it

‘What can you see?’

f’. ***Daa** iyatéén *sá*?

what you.can.see.it Q

(78) Basic properties of Tlingit Wh-questions

- a. Tlingit Wh-word and Q-particle must front to the initial position of an interrogative.
- b. Q-particle *sá* can compound with focus particles (*áwé*).
- c. There is long-distance movement in Tlingit Wh-questions.
- d. Q-particle *sá* may be separated from the Wh-word but still has to c-command it.
- e. Wh-word can be contained inside a (relative clause) island, only when the Q-particle *sá* is merged outside the island.
- f. Q-particle *sá* cannot appear at the right edge of a matrix clause. (It is available to do so in an embedded clause.)

Based on the above distribution and by comparing to other languages that utilize overt Q-particles for Wh-questions such as Sinhala and Japanese (cf. Hagstrom 1998; Kishimoto 2005), Cable (2008:139-141) argues that Tlingit Wh-questions are also realized by virtue of Q-movement to clausal periphery. This Q-movement is motivated by the need to check [Q] with the interrogative

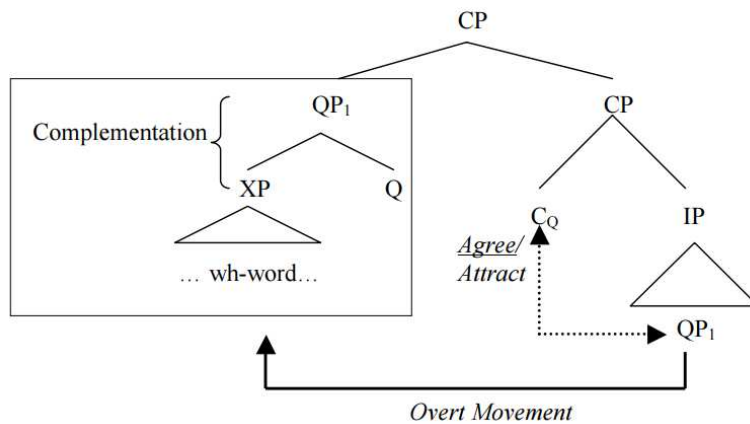
C.³⁰ The explicit fronting of the Wh-word is assumed to be a containing relationship (essentially, complementation) it maintains with the Q-particle. Hence, the general structure is attested for Wh-fronting languages as in (79):

³⁰ In difference to generally assumed Spec-ForceP movement, Cable (2008:135-136) argues that Force head performs as a choice-function binder, which in turn attracts the Q-particle to the immediately dominated node ('interrogative C'), presumably Spec-FocP.

I assume that interrogative C head to be Int head (cf. Rizzi 2001:291; see also fn. 14 of present study). Although Rizzi himself said that this head may only be active in an embedded clause, if we were to follow Cable's (2008) semantics of Force head, we would want an intermediate head between Force and Foc. Int head seems like a very plausible candidate, considering that what we are trying to achieve is to form a question after all.

Even so, in my adaptation I will simply assume remnant movement to Spec-ForceP. What we need is a head higher than FocP. The exact interaction of Force and Int heads are left for further research. For now, Rizzi's justification for Int and Cable's Force semantics are compared.

- (79) Fronting of Wh-Word in Tlingit Wh-question as a secondary effect of Q-movement³¹



(Cable 2008:107)

Cable comes up with some empirical evidences to (79):

- (80) No fronting of Wh-word alone

- a. [[**Goodéi sá**]₁ [has uwajée [t₁ woogootx] i
shagóonich]] ?
where.to Q they.think he.went your
parents.erg
'Where do your parents think he went?'

- b. * [Goodéi₁ [has uwajée [t₁ **sá** woogootx] i

³¹ What Cable (2008) means by 'a secondary effect' is the fact that there is no direct relationship between an interrogative C head and the Wh-word itself (p. 139). The quantificational force the Wh-word bears is satisfied by the quantifying force of the Force head (p. 135-137; also see fn. 17 above). The semantic interpretability of the dislocated Wh-word can be overcome by LF-reconstruction (p. 143).

I would have to diverge with Cable on this point since I already justified myself the need for quantification of Focus/Wh-related materials (Sect. 3.3). I still agree that the Wh-Fronting in SQs is a secondary effect, but I assume no LF-reconstruction of the Wh-phrase.

shagóonich]] ?

where.to they.think **Q** he.went your
parents.erg

- c. * [**Goodéi**₁ [has uwajée [t₁ woogootx **sá**] i
shagóonich]] ?

where.to they.think he.went **Q** your
parents.erg

- d. [[**Goodéi** woogootx **sá**]₁ [has uwajée t₁ i
shagóonich]] ?

where.to he.went **Q** they.think your
parents.erg

‘Where do your parents think he went?’

- (81) No fronting of Q-particle alone

- a. **Daa** **sá** i éesh aawaxáa?
what Q your father he.ate.it
‘What did your father eat?’

- b. ***Sá** i éesh **daa** aawaxáa?
Q your father **what** he.ate.it

- c. *I éesh **sá** **daa** aawaxáa?
your father **Q** **what** he.ate.it

Cable (2010) extends this configuration, (79), to other Wh-fronting languages in general. Since the typological distribution show that these languages are usually not equipped with an overt Q-particle, it is assumed to be phonologically null. In sum, Cable’s analysis has a semantic motivation of [Q]-checking in the context of Wh-questions and his empirical evidence is

constituted of a congruent distribution of Tlingit language as we have seen in (77), (80), (81).

3.5.2.2. Remnant movement in SQ = Q-fronting

The above explicated Q-fronting mechanism seems to be readily applicable to the monoclausal SQ configuration, (82), with one modification.

- (82) [FocP Un roble [Foc⁺ Foc [WhP qué árbol plantó Juan]]] (=76)
 an oak which tree planted Juan

- (83) Redesigning the Wh-phrase

$$[_{QP} Q [_{DP} D [_{D'} NP-OP_{Wh}]]]$$

(83) is a modified structure for Wh-phrase in Wh-fronting languages. It reflects the Wh-word complementation of the Q-particle, which is visualized in (79). The intervening head D indicates that such QP is a Wh-argument.

There are some ramifications of this application: there must be no Proper Binding Condition (PBC) nor reconstruction. The unnecessariness of the latter is argumentized in fn. 19. PBC is what one would encounter when applying any kind of remnant movement. The constituent that remnant-moves inevitably contains the trace of formerly moved constituent. This trace would ‘crossover’ its moved syntactic object and would not be able to look for its binder at LF. In SQ case, the trace in matter would be that of the focused constituent, the tag.

This problem, however, would only be a problem under the Trace theory. If we assume the well-known Copy Theory of Movement (Nunes 1997; Boskovic & Nunes 2007), there is no trace that needs to be bound at LF. After the desired remnant movement of QP, only the lower copy (which is the rightmost tag) will be pronounced and the higher copy in WhP should remain

silent. (84) is the result after applying the remnant movement (Q-fronting):

(84) [ForceP [WhP [QP **qué árbol**] **plantó Juan**] [Force' Force

which tree planted Juan

[FocP un roble [Foc' Foc

an oak

[~~WhP [QP ~~qué árbol~~] ~~plantó Juan~~]]]]]~~

There are three points of elucidation on this final configuration. First, one may wonder why the whole WhP and not just QP could move to Spec-ForceP to check [Q]. If we were treating just a simple Wh-phrase, this would have been a valid suspicion. However, [Q] by meaning needs to attract the whole question structure, the one that we would normally derive without tag. In other words, the question semantics would be deduced only when the WhP as a whole is preserved. Breaking this derived [QP-object V Subject] word order would require the derivation to reformulate this specific word order again, but this does not seem possible with the numeration at hand.

Second, when Wh-quantification occurs, there would be necessarily pied-piping of the Q-particle. Since Cable does not admit this separate quantification fronting, I would like to argue that the null Q-particle should be somehow affixed to the Wh-phrase (*qué árbol*) by the time A-bar movement engine starts up.

My final remark is that this invisible projection QP would always attract the WhP to the head of the question string, regardless of its interpretive priority. In case of normal Wh-question, there is no need for additional Q-movement, because nothing intervenes between Force and Wh heads. (Those two heads will materialize as a coalesced form.) This may be the reason why the existence of Q-particle has lied out of our linguistic epistemology until

recently. However, deriving benefit from SQ, it has come to our knowledge that despite its interpretive inferiority, Wh-fronting must occur as a ‘secondary effect of Q-movement’. This is so even though the Wh-part is at its interpretive inferiority relative to the tag. It is supported by the answering pattern of SQ.

(85) (Answering to the question *¿Qué árbol plantó Juan, un roble?*)

a. Sí, (un roble). / No, un olmo. (=6, 72)

‘Yes, (an oak).’ / ‘No, an elm.’

b. #Un roble. / #Un olmo.

‘#An oak.’ / ‘#An elm.’

This is a nature result considering the head hierarchy in CP: Force > Focus > Wh. When one hears a MSQ, he would first realized that it is a question that needs to be answered (Force), then there is a salient object that needs to be confirmed whether it would be the preferred answer (Focus), and finally supplement his answer by providing an adequate alternative (Wh).

3.6. Chapter summary

In this chapter, a monoclausal derivation for Spanish MSQ was investigated. (86) is the final configuration of this approach. Taking López-Cortina’s (2007) approach for NMSQ as a starting point, some revisions were made at each stage of derivation.

(86) Final version of the monoclausal derivation of Spanish MSQ

a. In bracket form

[_{ForceP} [_{WhP} [_{QP} Q [_{DP} D [_{wh-OP}]]] ...]_k [_{Force} Force ⑤ Remnant movement

$[_{\text{FocP}} \text{tag } [_{\text{FocP}} \text{Foc-OP}_j [_{\text{Foc}'} \text{Foc}$

④ Tag base-generation

③ Focus-(OP)-fronting

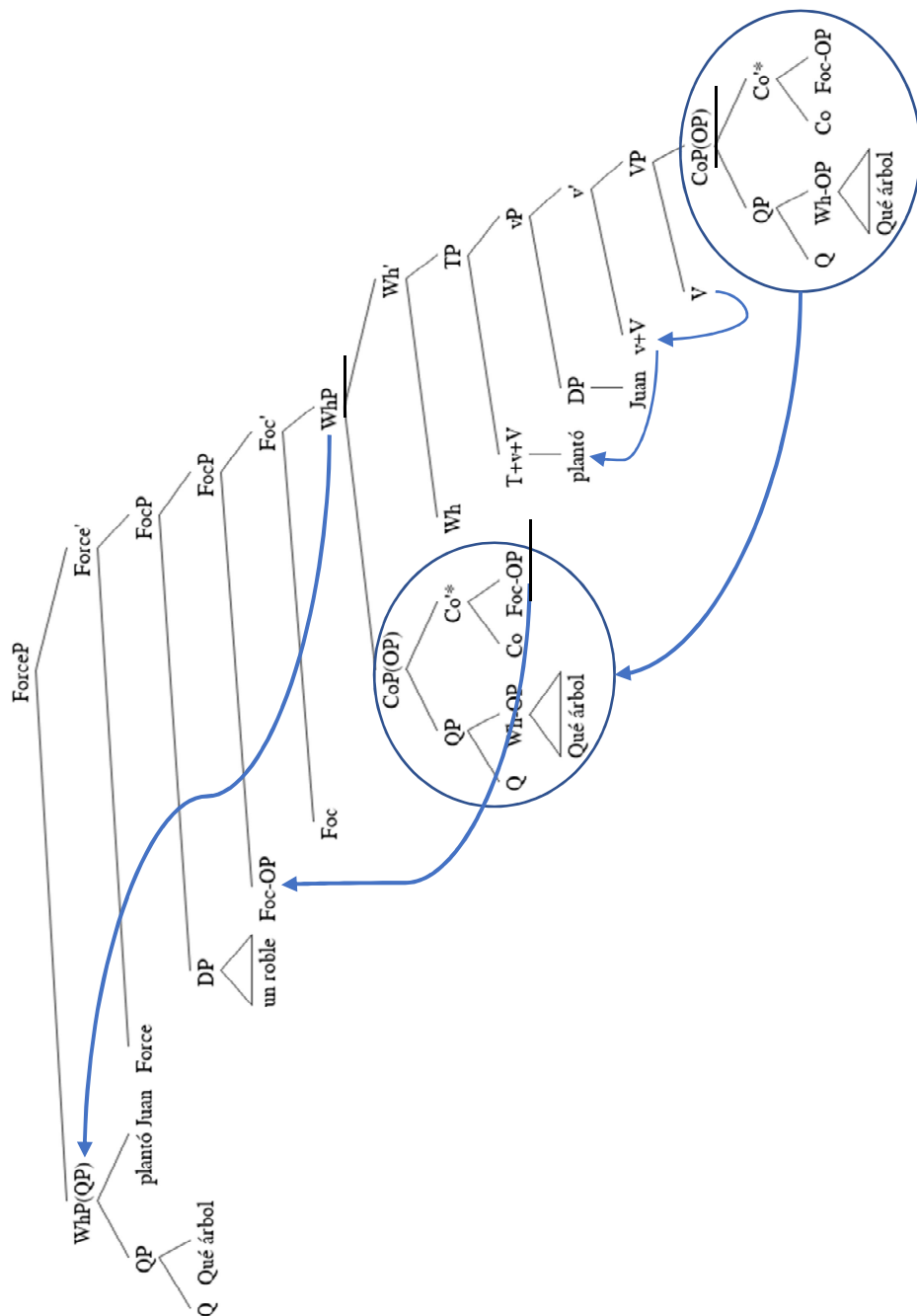
~~$[_{\text{WhP}} [_{\text{CoP}} [_{\text{QP}} \text{Q } [_{\text{DP}} \text{D } [_{\text{Wh-OP}} \text{Wh-OP}]]] [_{\text{Co}'} \text{Co Foc-OP}_j]]_i [_{\text{Wh}'} \text{Wh}$~~

② (Wh-)quantification

~~$[_{\text{TP}} \dots [_{\text{CoP}} [_{\text{QP}} \text{Q } [_{\text{DP}} \text{D } [_{\text{Wh-OP}} \text{Wh-OP}]]] [_{\text{Co}'} \text{Co Foc-OP}_j]]_i]_k]$~~

① Extended Projection

b. In tree form



First of all, L-C's ConfP was materialized as a CoP after Vries (2006).

The connectivity effects witnessed in Chapter 2 are captured at Lexical

Insertion level, which results in a minimally connected structure. In order to capture the optionality of the tag, a different type of Merge devised for general apposition is utilized. This b-Merge operation provides Invisibility to the Co-bar node, which masks the complement domain until the Spec position discharges its featural need. The appositive coordination structure could explain some crosslinguistic distribution of preposition and its stranding facts in English and Spanish.

Secondly, a modified Focus-fronting is implemented by usage of operators. Quantification is the common property that Wh-correlate and focused tag share, so for both branches of the coordinate structure, operators could be posited, which would be the common identifying feature of the CoP. Focus operator moves to Spec-FocP, embracing its phonetic content from base-generated actual tag.

Finally, the remnant movement of the WhP is argued. Here, a detour is made to glance at a Wh-fronting language, Tlingit. Since this Alaskan language is equipped with overt Q-particle, the exact fronting mechanism in Wh-question is verified, and it thus has become available to implement such Q-movement to other Wh-fronting languages such as Spanish. This modifies the motivation for the final A-bar movement of SQ, that is to check [Q]. Some implications are discussed with this final result and it turned out to be that SQs could provide a rich context of how Wh-question must be formulated in a strict manner.

Chapter 4. Conclusion

Throughout the chapters, we have verified the intricate structure that (Matching) Split Questions (SQ) could demonstrate:

Chapter 1 briefly introduced some basic properties of SQs.

Chapter 2 reviewed the biclausal analysis of SQs that Arregi (2010) argues. Based on Merchant's (2004) Fragment Answer analysis, Arregi posited the same movement-*cum*-deletion approach to SQs. The connectivity effects were therefore argued, and even non-connectivity effects were asserted as evidence for desired connectivity effects. After critically analyzing Arregi's arguments, some connectivity effects turned out to be insufficient in their predictions; meanwhile, some non-connectivity effects were indeed evidence of non-connectivity.

This led to an intuition that the parallelism between SQ and FA could not be quite so concrete, and this was shown by similar argumentation by Ko (2014), from a related construction in a different language, namely (Declarative) Right Dislocation Constructions (RDC) in Korean. Various aspects from both morphosyntax and semantics showed that this loosely concatenated structure would simply not be enough to constrain or predict the relation between the Wh-correlate and the tag.

Chapter 3 sought a monoclausal approach to SQ as an alternative solution to previous problems. To support this very specific derivation, several independently attested linguistic theories were employed.

First of all, coordination established the proper connectivity relation between Wh-correlate and tag. The connectivity effects were in fact connected at argument structure stage and not at event structure stage, which explains why non-connectivity effects are tangential to our perspective. Moreover, apposition structure allowed the optional appearance of the tag, which provides the benefit of embracing all the derivational facts from normal Wh-questions.

Second, Focus-fronting was redesigned to postulate an operator movement akin to Wh-quantification. This modification generalized the CoP movement into a QR-related mechanism and also let the derivation respect the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967). Previous Weak Crossover facts were newly explained under Kampen's (2015) discourse antecedent, which led to base-generation of the Tag at the periphery.

Lastly, remnant movement as a Last Resort was further argued to be a regular Q-movement phenomenon. This operation is typologically unattested due to Wh-fronting facts in the literature, but Cable (2008) managed to prove it through the Tlingit language. Assuming his arguments to be logical enough, I argue for the same motivation of movement in case of Spanish Wh-questions. This not only saves the derivation from crashing due to an ungrammatical word order, but also ameliorates the interpretation by respecting the desired C head hierarchy: Force > Focus > Wh.

Overall, the monoclausal in contrast to biclausal approach has seemingly succeeded in explaining further aspects of morphology and interpretation in

Spanish SQs. By resorting to independent theories of coordination, quantification and question formation, it can be said that this monoclausal analysis better reflects the complexity of language modules.

Further lines of research could branch out towards broader data and constructions. On the data side, this study focused only on Wh-argument environments; future studies could be done with SQs with Wh-adjuncts. Moreover, the internal discourse properties of the tag such as definiteness was overlooked. Depending on tag types, specific licensing conditions could be further clarified.

Construction-wise, this is a small counterargument to prevailing biclausal analyses in general RDCs. As the end of Chapter 3 showed, the higher layers of CP periphery are yet to be properly explored. One of those riddles was the actual correlation between Force and Int heads. My final commentary is that interrogatives are favorable constructions to substantiate those intricate discourse-related layers. In addition to SQs, other constructions such as echo questions could also be further investigated.

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스페인어 분열의문문에 대한 단일절 분석

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최희중

본 논문은 스페인어 분열의문문(Split Question)에 대한 단일절 분석의 논거를 제공하는 것을 목적으로 한다. 분열의문문은 Merchant(2004)의 조각 답변(Fragment Answer) 분석의 영향으로 이중절 구조로 분석되어 왔다.

우측전위구문의 한 가지로 분류되는 분열의문문에는 꼬리표(tag)가 붙으며, 이는 초점화된 요소이자, 바로 앞에 놓인 의문사 의문문에 대한 잠재적인 답변으로 해석된다. 이러한 특별한 종류의 의문사 의문문은 그 답변 양식에서 분열의문문에 대한 중요한 관찰을 찾아낼 수 있다. 이는 바로 꼬리표에 대한 확인성 답변인 극성 불변화사(polar particle; ‘예/아니오’)가 의문사 의문문에 대한 부분 답변을 항상 선행해야 한다는 점이다. 또 다른 기술적인 측면은 의문사 부분(Wh-part)과 꼬리표 사이에 어조 상의 곡선이 생긴다는 것인데, 의문사 의문문이 끝날 때에는 하강조가, 꼬리표에서는 초점화 강세가 붙는다. 이는 분열의문문의 복합

구조에 들어있는 다양한 의문문 형태를 뒷받침하는 것이라 볼 수 있다.

Arregi(2010)으로 대표되는 이중절 분석은 이 꼬리표를 수문문(시제절 생략)의 잔여물로 취급해왔으며, 선행하는 의문사 의문문과 절-절 연결(concatenation)로 이어져 있다고 간주했다. 이러한 이중절 접근 하에서 연결성 효과는 주로 형태론적 (형태의 일치)으로 다뤄졌으며, 의미론적 동질성 (e-GIVENness)을 통해 뒷받침되었다. Arregi(2010:565)에서는 “생략에 대한 더 많은 논거가 꼬리표와 의문사 간의 연결성 결여에서 비롯된다”고까지 주장하면서, 분열의문문에 대한 세 가지 비연결성(non-connectivity) 효과를 제시한다. Vehicle Change (Fiengo & May 1994), 접어 중복 그리고 부정어 인허가 바로 그것이다. 본고는 의문사와 꼬리표 간의 연결성에 더욱 집중함으로써 이러한 접근의 약점을 분석해보고자 하며, 또한 제시된 비연결성 효과가 분열의문문 도출에 있어서 별로 접점이 없다고 간주하고자 한다.

또한, Ko(2014)의 논거에 따라, 한국어 조각 답변과 우측전위구문에 대한 교차 언어적 비교가 이뤄진다. Ko(2014)에 따르면 한국어에서도 조각 답변과 우측전위구문의 내적 구조가 반드시 동일하지 않을 수 있으며, 우측전위구문의 경우, 단일절 구조를 제시하고 있다. 이렇게 특정 예시를 통해 밝혀지는 한국어 우측전위구문과 스페인어 분열의문문 간의 유사성을 바탕으로 분열의문문에 대해서 이중절을 대신하여 단일절 구조를 상정하게 된다.

스페인어 분열의문문에 대한 단일절 접근을 시도하기 위하여, 첫 번째로, 연결된 요소들 간의 동격 등위(appositive coordination) 구조가

상정된다 (Vries 2006, 2007). 등위 구조는 Arregi가 설명하는 연결성 효과에 대하여 동일한 수준의 예측력을 지니고 있으며, 동격 구조는 꼬리표의 수의성을 설명함으로써 의문사 의문문에 대한 일관된 접근을 가능케 한다.

둘째, 복수의 독립적인 비논항 이동들이 표면적인 어순에 대한 정확한 해석을 위해 상정된다. Rizzi(1997)의 논리에 따라, 보문소(Complementizer)에 다양한 담화 기능핵들이 존재하는데, 여기에는 두 가지 해결할 문제가 있다. 먼저, Ross(1967)에서 증명된 등위 구조 제약(Coordinate Structure Constraint)에 의해 등위 구조에서 각각의 결합체는 보문소의 기능핵으로 이동해 나갈 수 없다. 또한 일반적으로 초점 관련 투사는 단일 투사가 상정되는데, 이미 의문사 전치(Wh-fronting)가 그 자리를 차지하여서 꼬리표는 더 이상 이동할 동인이 없어 보인다. 이렇게 결코 사소하지 않은 문제들에 대한 해법으로서, 초점화된 변항에 대해 양화를 이루는 공운용자(null operator) 이동을 제시하게 된다. 등위절 전체가 양화 연산을 위하여 전체될 것이라 예상되며, 등위절의 보충어 자리에 있는 초점화 운용자(Focus operator)는 초점절의 지정어 자리로 추가 이동을 하게 된다. 초점화된 요소의 음성적인 내용은 초점절의 지정어 자리에서 기저생성되며, 이 기저생성에 대한 근거로서, 네덜란드어의 (최)약교차(Weak(est) Crossover) 자료를 살펴본다. 분열의문문에서 요구되는 높은 위치에서의 초점화 자리는 Kampen (2015)에서 d/w-대명사의 결속 효과를 위해 제시되는 담화 선행사(Discourse antecedent)로 기능하는 것으로 보인다.

비논항 이동 중 가장 특이한 이동은 마지막 단계에서 일어나는 의문문 전체의 잔여물 이동(remnant movement)이다. 선행연구 검토의 일환으로, Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria(2005, 2008)의 통사적 동기를 수용하고, 본고에서는 수반력(Force) 핵에서의 [Q] (의미자질) 점검을 의미적 동기로서 제공한다. 경험적인 증거로서, 틀링깃 어(Tlingit)라는 유형론적으로 특이한 언어를 살펴보게 된다. 틀링깃어에서는 의문사 전치와 의문 불변화사(Q-particle)의 전치가 모두 가시적으로 일어난다. 이 언어를 바탕으로 제시된 Cable(2008)의 Q-이동 분석을 수용하여, 스페인어 분열의문문에도 적용해보고자 한다. 만약 앞선 논증에 큰 오류가 없다면 이는 스페인어와 같이 의문사 전치 언어의 의문사 전치 방식에 대해 Q-전치라는 새로운 분석을 이끌어내게 될 것이다.

전체적으로 본고는 Rizzi(1997)의 중대한 연구 이후에 발전해온 좌측 경계부(Left Periphery)에 대한 더욱 세밀한(‘finer’) 이해를 도모하게 될 것이다. 분열의문문이라는 특별한 맥락에 도움을 입어 담화 관련 자질들의 성질이 더욱 분명히 드러날 것이라 예상한다.

주요어: 우측전위구문, 분열의문문, 단일절 분석, 동격 등위,
공운용자 이동, 잔여물 이동, Q-전치

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